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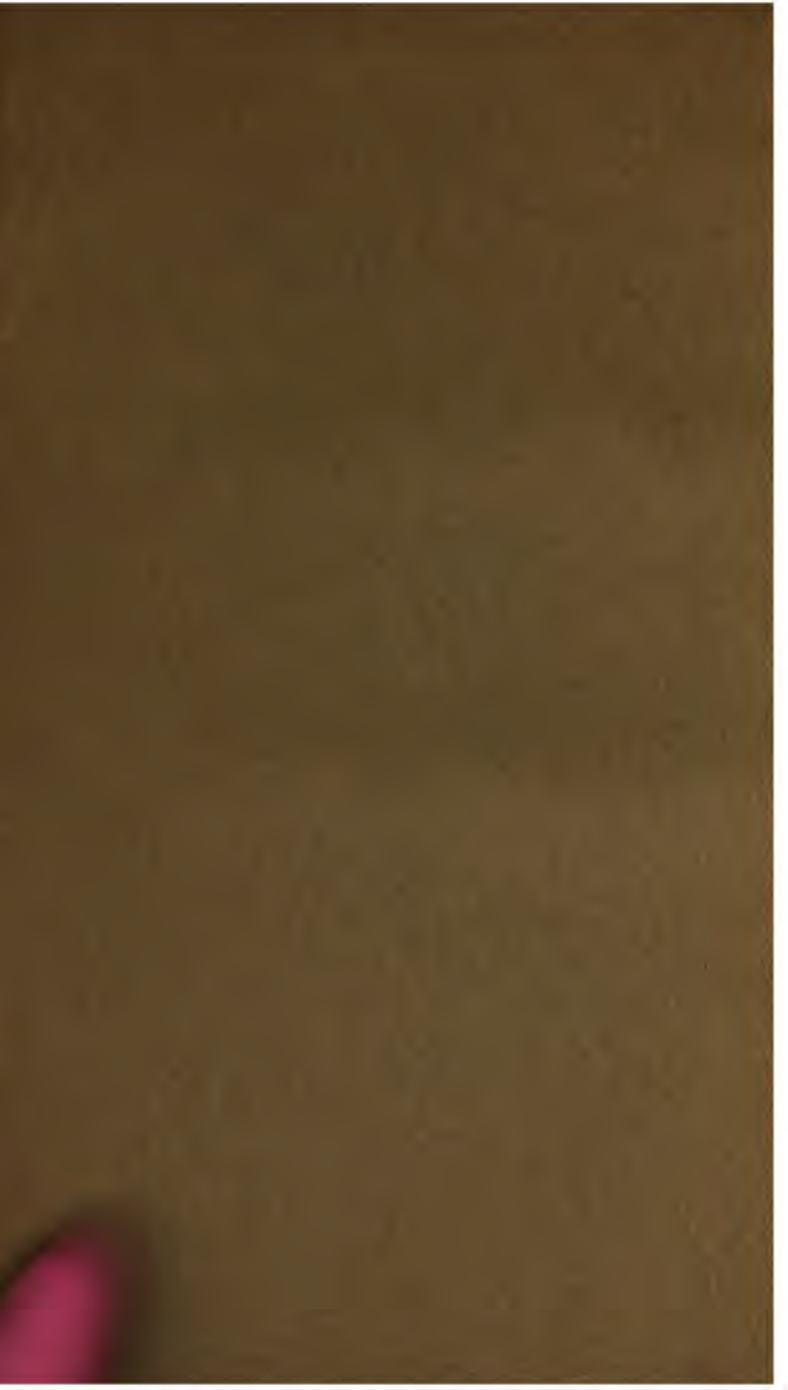

ANNE BOLEYN.

MEMOIRS

OF THE LIFE

OF

ANNE BOLEYN,

QUEEN OF HENRY VIII.

By MISS BENGER,

AUTHOR OF "MEMOIRS OF MRS. ELIZABETH HAMILTON."

SECOND AMERICAN,
FROM THE THIRD LONDON EDITION.

WITH A MEMOIR OF THE AUTHOR,
By MISS AIKIN.

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MEMOIR

OF

MISS BENGER.

ELIZABETH OGILVY BENGER, whose life affords an interesting example of female genius, struggling into day, through obstacles which might well have daunted even the bolder energies of manly enterprise, was born in the city of Wells, in February, 1778. She was an only child; a circumstance which her affectionate heart always led her to regard as a misfortune. Her father, somewhat late in life, was impelled by an adventurous disposition to give up commerce and enter the navy, and ultimately became a purser. In consequence of this change he removed his family to Chatham, when his daughter was four years of age; and,—with the exception of about two years' residence at Portsmouth,—Chatham or Rochester was her abode till the year 1797. An ardour for knowledge, a passion for literary distinction, disclosed itself with the first dawnings of reason, and never left her. Her connections were not literary; and her sex, no less than her situation, debarred her from the most effective means of mental cultivation. She has been heard to relate, that in the tormenting want of books which she suffered during

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her childhood, it was one of her resources to plant herself at the window of the only bookseller's shop in the place, to read the open pages of the new publications there displayed, and to return again, day after day, to examine whether, by good fortune, a leaf of any of them might have been turned over. But the bent of her mind was so decided, that a judicious friend prevailed upon her mother at length to indulge it; and at twelve years of age she received instruction in the Latin language. At thirteen she wrote a poem of considerable length, called "The Female Geniad," in which, imperfect as it necessarily was, strong traces of opening genius were discerned. With the sanction of her father it appeared in print, dedicated to the late Lady de Crespigny, to whom she was introduced by her uncle, Sir David Ogilvy, and from whom she afterwards received much kind and flattering attention.

Her father contemplated her literary progress with delight and with pride; and on his appointment to the lucrative situation of purser on board Admiral Lord Keith's own ship, it was his first care to direct that no expense should be spared in procuring instruction for his daughter, in every branch of knowledge which it might be her wish to acquire: but the death of this indulgent parent in the East Indies, within a year afterwards, blighted the fair prospect now opening upon her. Cares and difficulties succeeded; the widow and the orphan, destitute of effectual protection in the prosecution of their just claims, became the victims of fraud and rapacity, and a very

slender provision was all that could be secured from the wreck of their hopes and fortunes. In the course of the following year, 1797, they removed to the neighbourhood of Devizes, where, together with the society of affectionate friends and kind relations, Miss Benger also enjoyed free access to a well-stored library. But that intense longing for the society of the eminent and the excellent, which always distinguished her, could only be gratified, as she was sensible, in London; and thither, about the beginning of 1800, her mother was induced to remove. Here, partly through the favour of Lady de Crespigny, partly by means of her early intimates, Miss Jane and Miss Anna Maria Porter, but principally through the zealous friendship of Miss Sarah Wesley, who had already discovered her in her retirement, she almost immediately found herself ushered into society where her merit was fully appreciated and warmly fostered. The late Dr. George Gregory, well known in the literary world, and his admirable wife, a lady equally distinguished by talents and virtues, were soon amongst the firmest and most affectionate of her friends. By them she was gratified with an introduction to Miss Elizabeth Hamilton, of whom she afterwards gave so interesting a memoir; to the author of the Pleasures of Hope; to Mrs. Barbauld, and to the late Dr. Aikin, with the different members of whose family, but especially with her who now inscribes, with an aching heart, this slender record of her genius and virtues, she contracted an affectionate intimacy, never interrupted

through a period of more than twenty years, and only severed, at length, by the stroke which all things mortal must obey. Another, and a most valuable connection, which she afterwards formed, was with the family of R. Smirke, Esq., R. A., in whose accomplished daughter she found an assiduous and faithful friend, whose offices of love followed her, without remission, to the last. Mrs. Inchbald, Mrs. Joanna Baillie, the excellent Mrs. Weddell, and many other names distinguished in literature or in society, might be added to the list of those who delighted in her conversation, and took an interest in her happiness. Her circle of acquaintance extended with her fame, and with the knowledge of her excellent qualities; and she was often enabled to assemble, as guests at her humble tea-table, names whose celebrity would have insured attention in the proudest saloons of the metropolis.

Early in her literary career, Miss Benger had been induced to fix her hopes of fame on the drama, for which her genius appeared in many respects well adapted; but after ample experience of the anxieties, delays, and disappointments which in this age sicken the heart of almost every candidate for celebrity in this department, she tried her powers in other attempts, and produced, first, her poem on the Abolition of the Slave Trade, and afterwards two novels, published anonymously. Many passages in the poem are replete with sentiment and imagination, and there are lines of great harmony and beauty; but a suggested subject is unfavourable to inspiration, and the

piece would have borne condensation with advantage. Of the novels, Marian, the first and the best, did not obtain the attention which it deserved, and which the name of the author would probably have secured it. The style is eloquent and striking; the characters have often the air of well-drawn portraits; the situations are sometimes highly interesting; and, with many passages of pathos, there are several of genuine humour: the principal failure is in the plot, which, in itself improbable, is neither naturally nor perspicuously unfolded. The same general character applies to Valsinore, or The Heart and the Fancy; but of this piece the story is equally faulty, and the interest less highly wrought. No judicious person, however, could peruse either work without perceiving that the artist was superior to the work; that the excellencies were such as genius only could reach, the deficiencies what a more accurate and comprehensive knowledge of the laws of composition, or a more patient application of the labour of correction, might without difficulty have supplied. No one, in fact, was more sensible than herself, that she had not yet attained the power of doing justice, in the execution, to the first conceptions of her fancy; and finding herself in many respects unfavourably circumstanced for acquiring that mastery in literary skill, she prudently turned her attention from fictitious narrative to biography and criticism; rising in her later works to the department of history. Between the years 1814 and 1825, she gave to the world, in rapid succession, Remarks on Mad. de Stael's

Germany; Memoir of Mrs. Hamilton; Memoirs of John Tobin (author of the Honey-moon); Notices of Klopstock and his Friends, prefixed to a translation of their Letters from the German; and the Life of Anne Boleyn, and Memoirs of Mary Queen of Scots, and of the Queen of Bohemia. Most of these works obtained deserved popularity; and she would probably have added to her reputation by her projected Memoirs of Henry IV. of France, had life and health been lent her for their completion.

But to those who knew her and enjoyed her friendship, her writings, pleasing and beautiful as they are, were the smallest part of her merit and her attraction. Endowed with the warmest and most grateful of human hearts, she united to the utmost delicacy and nobleness of sentiment, active benevolence, which knew no limit but the furthest extent of her ability, and a boundless enthusiasm for the good and fair, wherever she discovered them. Her lively imagination, and the flow of eloquence which it inspired, aided by one of the most melodious of voices, lent an inexpressible charm to her conversation, which was heightened by an intuitive discernment of character, rare in itself, and still more so in combination with such fertility of fancy and ardency of feeling. As a companion, whether for the graver or the gayer hour, she had indeed few equals; and her constant forgetfulness of self, and unfailing sympathy for others, rendered her the general friend, and favourite, and confidant, of persons of both sexes, all classes, and all ages. Many would have concurred in judgment with Ma-

dame de Stael, when she pronounced Miss Benger the most interesting woman she had seen during her visit to England.

With so much to admire and love, she had everything to esteem. Of envy or jealousy there was not a trace in her composition: her probity, veracity, and honour, derived, as she gratefully acknowledged, from the early precepts of an assiduous and most respectable mother, were perfect. Though not less free from pride than from vanity, her sense of independence was such, that no one could fix upon her the slightest obligation capable of lowering her in any eyes; and her generous propensity to seek those most who needed her offices of friendship, rendered her, in the intercourses of society, much oftener the obliger than the party obliged. No one was more scrupulously just to the characters and performances of others; no one more candid; no one more deserving of every kind of reliance.

It is gratifying to reflect to how many hearts her unassisted merit found its way. Few persons have been more widely or deeply deplored in their sphere of acquaintance; but even those who knew and loved her best, could not but confess that their regrets were purely selfish. To her the pains of sensibility seemed to be dealt in even fuller measure than its joys: her childhood and early youth were consumed in a solitude of mind, and under a sense of the contrariety between her genius and her fate, which had rendered them sad and full of bitterness; her maturer

years were tried by cares, privations, and disappointments, and not seldom by unfeeling slights or thankless neglect. The irritability of her constitution, aggravated by inquietude of mind, had rendered her life one long disease. Old age, which she neither wished nor expected to attain, might have found her solitary and ill provided—now she has taken "the wings of the dove, to flee away and be at rest."

A short but painful illness terminated her career, on January 9th, 1827.

PREFACE.

In the records of biography, there is, perhaps, no character that more forcibly exemplifies the vanity of human ambition than that of Anne Boleyn: elevated to a throne, devoted to a scaffold, she appears to have been invested with royalty only to offer an example of humiliating degradation, such as modern Europe had never witnessed. But, abstracted from those signal vicissitudes of fortune, which, in every age and country, must awaken curiosity and sympathy, there are various circumstances connected with the history of Anne Boleyn, which are calculated to create peculiar interest in the English reader. It would be ungrateful to forget that the mother of Queen Elizabeth was the early and zealous advocate of the Reformation, and that by her efforts to dispel the gloom of ignorance and superstition, she conferred on the English people a benefit, of which, in the present advanced state of knowledge and civilization, it would be difficult to conceive or to appreciate the real value and importance. But the most prominent feature of her destiny is, that the abolition of

papal supremacy in this country must be referred to her influence; and that the only woman ever permitted to effect a change in our national and political institutions, has been instrumental in introducing and establishing a better system of things, whose effects have altered the whole fabric of society. On this single circumstance, perhaps, is founded the diversity of opinion which to this day prevails respecting the moral qualities of Anne Boleyn, alternately the subject of unqualified censure and extravagant praise. Catholic bigots and Protestant enthusiasts, calumniators and encomiasts, historians and poets, have alike conspired to create and transmit of her an unfaithful and even a distorted portraiture. It is, however, worthy of remark, that whilst she is reproached for real virtues by Bayle, and by Marot stigmatised for pretended vices, Calderon, the great dramatic poet of Spain, leaves her chastity unimpeached. In his fine play, "The Schism of England," she is invested with the ambition of Lady Macbeth; but her ruin is attributed to Henry's fantastic and impetuous jealousy.

In offering these Memoirs to the public, the author has to lament the absence of some important documents respecting Anne Boleyn's early life, which, till lately, were extant in the libraries of Paris and Berne, but which are now transferred to other seats of learning and science, where they may perhaps continue to be inaccessible. To introduce history without an obvious necessity, formed no part of the original plan; but it appeared impossible to

separate the details of Anne Boleyn's fate from those great political events, in which she was destined to perform an important part: still less could her character and conduct be understood without preliminary sketches of the customs and manners of the age; to illustrate which, the minute description of Queen Mary's bridal progress, and other details, derived from our old garrulous chroniclers, have been introduced.

Whatever may be the defects in the plan or execution of this little work, the author ventures to hope she shall obtain credit for the assertion, that she has been actuated by no motives inconsistent with the spirit of candour and a humble but unaffected love of truth.

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ANNE BOLEYN, or BULLEN, was born in 1507, two years before Henry the Eighth ascended the throne of England: the revolutions of her fortune are indissolubly connected with the changes of that eventful reign, and offer an interesting illustration of those earlier times, in which we discover rather a foreign than a familiar aspect; features strange to our sympathies, and repulsive to our conceptions of the English character. In contemplating this antiquated portraiture of our country, we are admonished, by certain internal feelings, of the immeasurable distance between us. It is not alone the exterior that creates this impression of remoteness and alienation: imagination might renovate fashions long since decayed, or impart grace to beauty and honour mouldering in oblivion. We could be reconciled to the coat of mail and ponderous spear; but we recoil from the image of England, entrammelled by ignorance and superstition, abetting persecution and oppression, and submitting with pusillanimous baseness to become alternately the minister and the

victim of tyranny and injustice. Mortified and disgusted, we are ready to disclaim affinity with a race in whom we discover no indications of those powerful energies, those expansive feelings of justice and humanity, which it is the pride of our national faith to identify with the air we breathe; but which it should be the part of more enlightened patriotism to ascribe to the benignant influence of truth and liberty.

In referring to the life of Anne Boleyn, it is scarcely possible not to become aware of our obligations to knowledge and culture, and of the inseparable connection between the interests of morality and the cause of civil and religious freedom. It is worthy of remark, that Henry, however sanguinary and despotic, was not more unprincipled than contemporary princes, or less esteemed than his immediate predecessors. Of the insurrections that occasionally disturbed his tranquillity, there were scarcely any that originated in generous indignation or patriotic energy: the same people who acquiesced without repugnance in the immolation of Edmund de la Pole, and tacitly approved the unconstitutional murder of Buckingham, scrupled not to invade the rights of property if they clashed with their favourate pursuits,* or to violate the laws of hospitality whenever their passions were excited by cupidity or prejudice. In condemning the hypocrisy and cruelty of the monarch, it is impossible not to stigmatize the corruption and baseness of the people; and if

* In 1514, the citizens of London sallied forth with shovels and spades, and breaking down the enclosures of garden ground, in the villages of Hoxton, Hackney, and Islington, converted them to a field of archery. See also, in Godwin's History of Henry the Eighth, an account of their disorderly behaviour in 1517, on what was vulgarly called Evil May Day.

the despotism of Henry provoke execration, the submission of his subjects must equally excite contempt. During the greater part of his reign, it is notorious, that he coveted and possessed popularity in a degree seldom equalled by the most meritorious princes: this flattering homage he owed not to the wisdom of his laws, or the splendour of his achievements, but to social instincts and personal accomplishments, to a certain chivalrous gallantry of carriage, unbounded magnificence, measureless prodigality, and ostentatious affability; above all, perhaps to the address with which, like a skilful actor, he rendered his own vanity and egotism subservient to the gratification of popular taste. Having mounted the throne at the age of eighteen, Henry possessed, in his youth alone, a powerful attraction; and it was a circumstance highly favourable to his prosperity, that in him were reconciled the opposing factions of York and Lancaster, and in him revived the genuine royalty of the English crown.

It is well known, that Henry had received an education superior to what was then usually bestowed on princes: he spoke and wrote with fluency in the French and Latin languages, understood music, was addicted to the study of theology, and, above all, passionately devoted to Thomas Aquinas; but it was by more elegant and more popular accomplishments that he engaged the affections of his subjects: he loved music, played on several instruments, and was even occasionally a composer; he danced with incomparable agility; and in hunting, hawking, and shooting, constantly exhibited his spirit and activity; but, above all, he *jousted* with skill; and to excel in this manly exercise, was at once to announce pretensions to strength and courage, to evince a noble emulation with renowned heroes, and challenge by anticipation the honours of military fame. To

enhance the value of these advantages, Henry was, confessedly, the handsomest man in his court; and, by his marriage with Catherine of Arragon, gave to the people a queen lovely in person and in mind, of exemplary prudence and virtue, and truly gentle and feminine in her manners.

During a residence of several years in England, Catherine had been endeared to the people by her unaffected piety and benevolence: and as, like Henry, she possessed considerable learning, she cordially co-operated in his liberal patronage of literature. Educated in the decorous court of Ferdinand and Isabella, she appears not to have ever relished the boisterous amusements and convivial spirit of the English nobility; but at this period she betrayed nothing like rigour or austerity; and whilst the gravity of her deportment tempered the exuberant vivacity of Henry's manners, she evinced a tenderness and sensibility that irresistibly engaged his affections. Six years of seniority had rather increased than diminished her attractions; nor can it be doubted, that, during the early part of her marriage, she held an undivided empire in her husband's heart. It was, therefore, with a natural and amiable pride, that Henry associated this queen in his coronation, of which the most indefatigable chronicler* of the age has left the following lively picture:

"If I should declare what pain, labour, and diligence, the taylors, embroiderers, and goldsmiths took, both to make and devise garments for lords, ladies, knights, and esquires, and also for decking, trapping, and adorning of coursers, gennets, palfreys, —it were too long to rehearse; but for a surety, more rich, nor

* Hall.

more strange, nor more curious works, hath not been seen, than were prepared against this coronation.

"On the 21st day of this month of June, the King came from Greenwich to the Tower, over London Bridge, and so by Grace Church, with whom came many a well-apparelled gentleman, but in especiall the Duke of Buckingham, which had a goune all of goldsmith's work, very costly, and there the King rested till Saturday next ensuing.

"Friday the twenty and two day of June, everything being in a readiness for his coronation, his Grace, with the Queen, being in the Tower of London, made there Knightes of the Bathe, to the number of twenty and four, with all the observances and ceremonies to the same belonging.

"And the morrow following, being Saturday, the 23d day of the said month, his Grace, with the Queen, departed from the Tower through the city of London, against whose coming, the streets where his Grace should pass were hanged with tapistrie and clothe of Arras. And the great part of the south side of Chepe, with cloth of gold, and some part of Cornhill also. And the streets railed and barred on the one side from over against Grace Church, unto Bread Street, in Cheapside, where every occupation stood in their liveries in order, beginning with base and mean occupations, and so ascending to the worshipful craftes; highest and lastly stood the Mayor with the Aldermen. The goldsmiths' stalls, unto the end of the Old Change, being replenished with virgins in white, with branches of white wax: the priests and clerks in rich copes, with crosses and censers of silver, with censing his Grace and the Queen also as they passed.

"The features of his body, his goodly personage, his amia-

ble visage, princely countenance, with the noble qualities of his royale estate, to every man known, needeth no rehearsal, considering that for lack of cunning I cannot express the gifts of grace and of nature that God hath endowed him withal: yet, partly to describe his apparel, it is to be noted, his Grace ware in his uppermost apparel a robe of crimson velvet furred with ermine, his jacket or coat of raised gold, the placard embroidered with diamond rubies, emerandes, great pearls, and other rich stones, a great banderike* aboute his neck of great balasses.† The trapper of his horse, damask gold, with a deep purfell of ermyns: his knights and esquires for his body in crimson velvet; and all the gentlemen, with other of his chapel, and all his officers and household servants were apparelled in scarlet. The barons of the Five Portes bare the canopy, or clothe of estate. For to recite unto you the great estates by name, the order of their going, the number of the lords, spiritual and temporal, knights, esquires, and gentlemen, and of their costly and rich apparel, of several devises and fashions; who tooke up his horse best, or who was richest besene, it would ask long time, and yet I should omit many things, and fail of the number, for they were very many: wherefore I pass over; but this I dare well say, there was no lack or scarcity of cloth of gold, cloth of silver broderie, or goldsmiths' work."

The chronicler then mentions the procession of the nine children of honour, each mounted on a steed decorated with the name and arms of a province of the king's dominions; an ostentatious display, derived from the brilliant era of Edward the Third, since in addition to Cornwall and Wales, it assumed the fictitious sovereignty of Normandy, Gascony, Guienne, and

* Collar. † Rubies.

Anjou. The Queen's retinue appears to have been equally magnificent, and far more attractive.—"In a litter richly ornamented, sat Catherine, borne by two white palfreys trapped in cloth of gold; her person apparelled in white satin embroidered; her long black hair hanging down her back, beautiful and goodly to behold; and on her head a coronal, set with many rich orient stones.

"Her ladies followed in chariots, a sort of car containing six persons, and the quality of each was designated by the gold or silver tissue habiliments; and with much joy and honour they came to Westminster, where was high preparation made, as well for the coronation, as for the solemn feasts and jousts to be had and done."*

"What should I speak," continues the chronicler, "of the sumptuous, fine, and delicate meats prepared for this high and honourable coronation, provided for as well in the parties beyond the seas, as in many and sundry places within this realm, where God so abundantly hath sent such plenty and foison? or of the honourable order of the services; the clean handling and breaking of meats; the ordering of the dishes, with the plentiful abundance; so that none of any estate being there did lack, nor no honourable and worshipful person unfeasted?"

* At the dinner the King's estate was on the right hand, and the Queen's on the left; the cupboard of nine stages. Their noble personages being set, at the bringing in of the first course, the trumpet sounded, and in came the Duke of Buckingham mounted on a courser richly trapped and embroidered, and the Lord Steward likewise, on a horse trapped, came in cloth of gold riding before the service, which was sumptuous, with many subtleties, strange devices, with several poesies, and many dainty dishes.

From the vivacity of his descriptions, it might be supposed that the writer had himself been one of the enviable beings admitted to that unparalleled banquet, which he pronounces to have been *more honourable* "than that of the great Cæsar, whom so many historiographers set out and magnify." Jousts and masques succeeded; and in these the populace had their full share of enjoyment. It may, perhaps, be doubted, whether the *rare and excellent* device of the castle, invested by a silvery fountain, and embellished with a flowing vine, imparted half the delight inspired by rivulets of *claret* and *malmsey* spouted from the hideous lips of some sphinx-like monster. The supreme object of attraction appears to have been a mountainous castle, dragged slowly along, in which sat a lady, who, under the imposing name of Pallas, displayed a crystal shield; and with many grimaces presented six of her scholars to the King, as challengers in the combat. To this redoubtable personage was opposed one equally sublime, the goddess Diana, in whose behoof appeared a troop of foresters, who, breathing from their mellow-toned horn a sylvan strain, ushered in the appropriate pageant of a park, within whose chequered pales of green and white were *living* deer; but sad was the fate of these victims to pleasure, who were no sooner allowed to escape from their enclosure than they were chased by hounds, attacked, and killed almost in the Queen's presence. Such was the refinement, such the humanity of our forefathers!

In justice to Henry, it must be admitted, that he was not without capacities for better things; and that he often displayed considerable address in animating and polishing those puerile amusements, in which he was required to participate. At this juvenile period, the prominent feature of his character was

vanity, but of that inoffensive cast, apparently springing from exuberance of good humour, which often assumes the expression of benevolence. To outshine his companions was the first object, to delight them the next: like an actor, he courted popular applause, and in the presence of ambassadors or other distinguished foreigners, this solicitude became more strikingly apparent; but in all his petty struggles for pre-eminence, he secured the good will and inspired the enthusiasm of the people.

One day an engagement having been made by some of his courtiers to run at the ring for a wager, the King declared his willingness to enter the lists with six companions, the prize being promised to him who, within a certain space of time, should most often reach the goal. At the hour appointed, the ambassadors, the court, the ladies, repaired, with the pomp and ceremony usual on such occasions, to the barrier where at the sound of the trumpet appeared the King and his martial train, each mounted on a mettled courser, clothed in purple velvet and cloth of gold: the royal steed was distinguished by his embroidered drapery, and the gallant plume of feathers pendant from his head, and which rose ambitiously to the saddle of the rider. The signal being given, the coursers flew like lightning: each cavalier ran twelve courses: the youthful monarch struck the ring five times, and finally bore away the prize in triumph, abandoning the ornaments of his charger to the applauding multitude. In another public festival at Greenwich, the King challenged all comers to fight with the target; and afterwards exhibited still greater prowess in hurling the spear: nor did the indefatigable prince desist till he had achieved equal honour with the two-handed sword.

In the present advanced state of civilisation, the passion that

ace existed for the fatiguing pleasures of the tilting-field might ppear incredible, but for the reflection that this exercise was eserved exclusively for men of gentle blood, and that it formed strong and impassable line of demarcation between the higher nd lower orders of the community. In the martial exercise of encing, the young cavalier acquired courtesy and dignity, ningled with that intrepid martial deportment so well calculated o impress respect and to inspire sentiments of awe and defer- ence; nor was this personal distinction altogether so chimerical as might at first sight be supposed, since the accomplished jouster, who, under his cumbrous weight of armour, could skil- fully poise the lance or wield the ponderous spear, must unques- tionably have possessed a degree of strength and physical force far beyond the ordinary standard of bravery and vigour; whilst the consciousness of high pretensions and still higher respon- sibility could not but rouse a desperate courage, which prompted to deeds of unconquerable heroism and deathless fame. With impressions such as these, it is not surprising that a single- handed knight should sometimes perform prodigies of valour which seem almost to authenticate the legends of chivalry, and realize the visions of romance.

Even to the citizens and minor gentry, who were not allowed to share in the perils and honours of jousting, these exhibitions afforded a rich and inexhaustible source of entertainment. No sooner was a tournament announced, than the city, the court, and the country appeared to receive a simultaneous movement. The tilt-yard was gravelled for the combatants; a theatre or a booth was erected for the spectators. The steeds were trained and caparisoned; whilst goldsmiths, embroiderers, and various artisans were required to furnish articles of finery and magni-

ficence, invention was racked to supply apposite mottoes, poesies, and devices. When the eventful day arrived, the most lively interest was created for the respective challengers, or defendants; and in the true spirit of speculation, bets were laid on the issue of each succeeding contest. A scrutinizing glance was cast on the balconies, in which the ladies presided, on whose demeanour shrewd conjectures were hazarded respecting their private sentiments; and often were the mysteries of the heart elicited by a portentous scarf, or symbolic glove.* Scandal echoed the whisper of malice, and notoriety might thus, by some wayward chance, be forced on many who never sighed for fame. It was for veteran cavaliers to sit in judgment on the prowess of each adventurous knight, and to prompt or correct the decisions which preceded the distribution of the prizes; but for the fair dame who presided over the day was exclusively reserved the privilege of bestowing the meed of praise. To win this envied distinction, men of rank and talents frequently expended a year's revenue only to strut about one little day, exulting even in the plaudits of the citizens whom they despised, re-echoed by the shouts of the heralds and the congratulations of the ladies. In the tournament and the masque which usually followed, princes and peers exhibited, like actors, before the people, for whose accommodation booths and benches were erected; nor did noble and royal dames disdain occasionally to leave their embroidered *cushions*, and dance,† and even act in a pantomimic style, before

* For those who would become acquainted with the manners of that age, Dr. Nott's Life of Surrey "offers a fund of information and entertainment."

† In this manner Catherine, when Princess of Wales, had danced at Westminster. See Leland's Collectanea.

an immense crowd of vulgar spectators. The habits and manners which during some centuries prevailed in Europe, however artificial or preposterous, served to fill the vacuity incident to uncultivated minds, and to relieve the coarse or languid features of domestic life. It is well known, that every knight was supposed to be devoted to some lady, for whose smiles he fought and conquered, and for whose charms he exacted allegiance. In the time of Henry the Eighth, the names of mistress and servant were often admitted and exchanged by individuals previous to any personal intercourse, and between whom no real attachment ever subsisted. It cannot be doubted, but that this inflated style of adoration, though well understood to mean nothing, might often have been adopted when the passion was more genuine than the object was legitimate. The invention of devices, favours, emblems, with their concomitants of masques and *disguises*, the allegorical personifications and melo-dramatic exhibition borrowed from romance, must have been singularly well adapted to facilitate intrigues and to conceal them from detection. But, whatever might be the errors or discrepancies belonging to this Gothic system of manners, it obtained equally in France, in Italy, and Spain, and formed among the European nobility a sort of fellowship not dissimilar to the brotherhood that subsisted in religious orders.

It was not only in jousting, that Henry presented himself before the public eye. With an affability that reflects equal credit on his good humour and sagacity, he adopted the prejudices, and condescended to the local or traditionary customs, of the people. Not a festival occurred, but was celebrated at court according to primitive usage: sometimes, in a vein of frolic, the king assumed the garb of Robin Hood, the popular outlaw, and

in that chosen character once surprised the modest Catherine and her demure ladies, not without creating momentary sensations of terror and confusion. On May-day, it was his pride to rise with the lark, and, with a train of courtiers splendidly attired in white and silver, to hasten to the woods, from whence he bore home the fragrant bough in triumph. When he quitted Greenwich for Windsor, or the sweet sylvan retreat of Havering Bower,* he hawked and hunted with the neighbouring gentry, and beguiled his sedentary hours by playing on the flute or the virginal, setting songs to music, or inventing ballets; nor must it be forgotten, that he even composed two sacred masses, an event which his courtly chronicler records with becoming reverence.

The regularity and decorum generally established in modern courts, had then no existence. Amidst the most ostentatious pomp the distinctions of rank were often discarded, and during certain public festivals, the people seemed, by prescriptive right, to enjoy perfect equality with their sovereign.†

* In Essex.

† On May-day, when Henry was returning to Greenwich from his annual expedition to the woods, he met on the road the pageant of a ship with outspread sails, the master of which, saluting the king and his noble company, announced himself to be a mariner, come from many a strange port, to see if any deeds of arms were to be done in the country, that he might report them to other realms. A herald demanding the name of the ship, the pretended mariner replied, "She is called *Fame*, and is laden with good *renown*." Then said the herald, "If you will bring your ship into the bay of *Hardiness*, you must double the point of *Gentleness*, and there I shall send a company that will meddle with your merchandise." Here Henry interposing exclaimed, "Sithens renown is their merchandise, let us buy it if we can." Then

It had been an object of solicitude with Henry the Seventh, to establish in his court a regular system of etiquette, and to create for every circumstance connected with his domestic life, a certain degree of interest and sympathy in the people. By the advice of his mother, the celebrated Countess of Derby, certain ordinances were promulgated, regulating the ceremonial to be observed in the christening of a prince or princess, and enforcing the old custom imposed on a queen-consort, previous to the birth of a royal infant, of publicly withdrawing to her chamber.*

Although the Countess survived the accession of Henry VIII. but a few months, her memory was still held in veneration; nor during the dynasty of the Tudors, were her laws permitted to be impugned. In conformity, therefore, with the old custom, Catherine, in December (1510), took to her chamber at Richmond

the ship shot forth a peal of guns, and sailed before the King's company, crowded with flags and banners, till it came to the Tilt-yard.

* In Leland's Collectanea, we find the following ordinances made by Margaret Countess of Derby, from a manuscript in the Harleian library: —"Her highness's pleasure being understood in what chamber she will be delivered, the same must be hanged with rich cloth of arras, sydes, rowffe, windowes and all, excepte one window, which must be hanged so as she may have light when it pleaseth her; then must there be set a royale bed, and the flore layed all over and over with carpets, and a cup-borde covered with the same suyte that the chambre is hanged withal."—On entering the great chamber, the Queen was permitted to exercise her own discretion whether she would sit or stand in receiving wine and spices.

When the Queen had once entered, all individuals of the other sex were formally excluded: none but ladies or female attendants were permitted to approach her presence; women alone performed the functions of panterers, sewers, and butlers; and the men who assisted passed not beyond the vestibule leading to the apartment

rather than Westminster, wishing, perhaps, to escape in part the publicity attached to this ceremony, which, however embellished by pomp and splendour, was calculated to impress the mind with melancholy sentiments.* The birth of a prince on new-year's

* Of this ceremony, as performed by Elizabeth, the wife of Henry VII., the following description is preserved in Leland's Collectanea.

"Upon All-allow Even the queene tooke her chamber at Westminster, gretly accompanyed with ladies and gentilwomen; that is to say, the king's mother, the Duchesse of Norfolk, and many others; having before her the greate parte of the nobles of this *royalme* present at this parliament. She was led by the Earl of Oxinford and the Earl of Derby. The Reverend Father in God, the bishop of Excester, song the mass in pontificalibus, and after Agnus Dei. Then the queene was led as before. The Earles of Shrewsby and of Kente hylde the towel when the queene toke her rights, and the torches were holden by knights, and after mass accompanyed as before; when she was commen into hir grete chamber she stode under her cloth of estate, then thir was ordered a voide of espices and sweet wine: that *doon*, my lord the queene's chamberlain, in very goode wordes, desired, in the queen's name, the people thir present to pray God to send her the goode *houre;* and so she departed to her inner chamber, which was hanged and seyled with riche clothe of blue arras, with fleur-de-lys of gold. "In that chambre was a riche bed and palliet, the whiche palliet had a marvellous riche canopé of gold, with velvet pall, garnished with riche red roses; also there was an autar well furnyshed with reliques and a cup-borde of nine stages well and richly garnished. Then she recommended her to the good praiers of the lords and my lord her chamberland drew the Travis; from thenceforth no manner of officer came into the chambre, but ladies and gentlewomen after the old custome.—A few days after this ceremony, however, a French nobleman of the highest rank was, by special favour, admitted to an audience of Her Highness, with whom he found only the Countess of Derby and the Queen-dowager Elizabeth."

day, afforded a pretext for exhibitions of a more exhilarating aspect.

The untimely fate of this heir of York and Lancaster might invite the moralist to expatiate on the vanity of human expectations, but that the theme is already exhausted, and that the mournful lesson it inculcates is too painfully impressed by every page of human experience. From the moment of his birth, when Catherine with a mother's pride presented him as a new-year's gift to her delighted lord, he had been an object of almost idolatrous love and homage.* Innumerable benedictions were showered on his unconscious head, and the prayers of a generous people unavailingly offered for his health and prosperity. Among the feasts and festivals in honour of his birth, was one, of which the memory long survived the term of his ephemeral existence, and in which may be discerned some faint indications of improving taste.†

* The prince expired on the 22d of February. "The King," says Hall, "took this sad chance wondrous wisely; and, the more to comfort the Queen, he dissembled the matter, and made no great mourning outwardly; but the Queen, like a *natural woman*, made much lamentation."

† "At Westminster," says Hall, "solemn jousts were proclaimed in honor of the Queen; and on the twelfth of February, the King and his three aids or supporters, Sir Thomas Knevet, the Earl of Devonshire, and Sir Edward Neville, entered the hall, each armed cap-à-pee, with a fictitious name quartered on his shield. To the Earl was assigned the allegorical appellation of *Bon Vouloir;* Sir Thomas Knevet was designated by *Bon Espoir;* and Sir Edward Neville by *Vaillant Desir;* whilst the King, the universal challenger and enterpriser, could be nothing less than *Cœur Loyal.* By a fantastical device, the tablet in which the names of these *quatre chevaliers de la forêt* were inscribed, was suspended on an artificial tree, to which the fol-

"On the morrow, after dinner," says the chronicler, "the company assembled in the hall, when, at the sound of the trumpet, many a nobleman and gentleman vaulted on their steeds, after whom followed certain lords, mounted on palfreys, trapped in cloth of gold; many gentlemen on foot, clad in russet sattin, and yeomen in russet damask, scarlet hose, and yellow caps; then issued the King from his pavilion of cloth of gold." His mettled courser loaded with the same gorgeous drapery, and on his gilded chafrons nodded a graceful plume spangled with gold. The King's three aids appeared in equal state; each, armed cap-à-pee, sat beneath a crimson pavilion. Next followed in procession the nine pages or children of honour, each gallantly bestriding a palfrey, of which the housings were embroidered with words and poesies. Then entered, from the other side of the field, on the part of the defenders, Sir Charles Brandon on horseback, habited as a religious recluse, who, unheralded by trumpet or minstrel, preferred to the Queen his lowly suit that she would be pleased to allow him to run in her presence: the boon was no sooner granted, than, eagerly divesting himself of his robe, he exposed to view a complete set of armour; and galloping to the tilt-end of the field, was instantly surrounded by his supporters. During this interval entered singly the

lowing scroll was appended:—'The noble lady Renown, considering the good and gracious fortune which it hath pleased God to send her dear and best beloved cousins, the King and Queen of England and of France, that is to say, the birth of a young prince, hath sent eight knights, born in her realm; that is to say, *Cœur Noble, Vaillant Desir, Bon Vouloir, et Joyeux Penser*, to furnish and *apply* the certain articles as followeth; And forasmuch as, after the order and honor of arms, it is not lawful for any man to enterprise arms in so high a presence without his stock and lineage be of nobles descended.'"

esquire, young Henry Guilford, clad in gold and silver tissue, but completely enveloped in a pageant resembling a castle; its glittering walls chequered with mystic rhymes, invoking blessings on the royal pair: behind him came his men, all dressed in the same livery of silver tissue, who, having made obeisance to the Queen, passed to the field. Then followed the Marquis of Dorset, and his brother-in-law, Sir Thomas Boleyn, both habited as pilgrims from St. Jago's shrine, with a train of sable-suited attendants. The procession was closed by several lords in armour, mounted on steeds superbly ornamented. Amidst this martial pomp, appeared pageants of most ludicrous and fantastic incongruity. Arrows were encased in crimson damask; and, amongst other articles was, a silver greyhound, bearing a tree of pomegranates, by whose branches it was almost concealed from view. At length the trumpets sounded to the charge; the knights spurred their steeds; lance encountered lance. From the balconies the ladies waved their handkerchiefs, and the concourse of spectators gazed intently on the combat. As usual, the royal party prevailed, and to the King was awarded the first prize: the crowd dispersed, and Henry decorously attended his devout consort to vespers. But not thus were to terminate the pleasures of this laborious day. After supper, the King and his court repaired to the Whitehall, where a spectacle was prepared of which the lower orders were allowed to participate. An interlude was first performed by the children of the chapel; after this, the King, according to ancient usage, conferred on the Irish Chief, O'Neale, the honours of knighthood. Then was heard a symphony; the minstrels played, and the lords and ladies danced; and Henry, observing how much this exhibition interested the spectators, stole away to prepare for them a still higher

gratification. And now was attention arrested by a flourish of trumpets: and lo! an enormous machine was wheeled into the hall, completely enveloped in cloth of arras. At this portentous sight curiosity became intense; when a cavalier suddenly issuing from the pageant, represented to the Queen, that in a certain garden of pleasure, there was a golden arbour, wherein were lords and ladies *much desirous* to show pastime to the Queen and ladies, if they might be licensed so to do. Permission being granted, the cloth was removed, and discovered a beautiful garden, in which were trees of hawthorn, eglantine, and rosiers, vines and gilliflowers, all wrought of gold. In an arbour appeared six ladies, all dressed in silver and satin, on whose heads were bonnets open at the four quarters, and *outfrised* with flat-gold of damask. The orellets were of roses, wreathed on *lampas** *doucke* so that the gold showed through the lampas doucke. In this garden also was the King, robed in purple satin, embroidered with letters of gold, composing his assumed name of Cœur Loyal. The gentlemen having joined the ladies, they danced together, whilst the pageant was removed to the extremity of the hall, for the purpose of receiving them when the ballet should be ended; but the rude *people* (as Hall

* Of this passage the following explanation has been suggested by an author justly celebrated for the ingenuity, the erudition, and good taste that have uniformly directed his researches. In the Flemish language, *lampas* signifies a fine transparent linen or crape, through which the gold on the orellets would appear transparent. It is very probable that this was an article of commerce, imported from Flanders in the time of Henry the Eighth. *Lampas* in counting-house orthography, is no great corruption, and the above crape may therefore be simply, *Douche* (*Dutch*); *lampas doucke* being an error of the press.

calls them) ran to the pageant, which, either from curiosity or cupidity, was presently demolished, and, to escape their violence, the royal and noble performers found it necessary to pluck off the golden *letters* attached to their robes, *of which one man picked up enough to produce three pounds from the goldsmith.*

It is worthy of remark, that the foregoing description of the tournament is almost the prose transcript of the beautiful poetical sketch preserved by Chaucer, in his fable of the Flower and the Leaf, and exquisitely embellished by Dryden; and this exact correspondence proves the conformity of manners which prevailed in the age of Edward the Third, and Henry the Eighth.

Before the rest
The trumpets issued in white mantles dress'd;
A numerous troop, and all their heads around
With chaplets green of cerrial-oak were crown'd;
And at each trumpet was a banner bound,
Which, waving in the wind, display'd at large
Their master's coat of arms, and knightly charge.
Broad were the banners, and of snowy hue,
A purer web the silk-worm never drew.
The chiefs about their necks the scutcheons wore,
With orient pearls and jewels powder'd o'er;
Broad were their collars too, and every one
Was set about with many a costly stone.
Next these of kings at arms a goodly train
In proud array came prancing o'er the plain:
Their cloaks were cloth of silver mix'd with gold,
And garlands green around their temples roll'd;
Rich crowns were on their royal scutcheons placed,
With sapphires, diamonds, and with rubies graced:
And as the trumpets their appearance made,
So these in habits were alike array'd;

But with a pace more sober and more slow;
And twenty, rank in rank, they rode a-row.
The pursuivants came next, in number more;
And like the heralds each his scutcheon bore:
Clad in white velvet all their troop they led,
With each an oaken chaplet on his head.
Nine royal knights in equal rank succeed,
Each warrior mounted on a fiery steed;
In golden armour glorious to behold;
The rivets of their arms were nail'd with gold.
Their surcoats of white ermine fur were made,
With cloth of gold between, that cast a glittering shade;
The trappings of their steeds were of the same;
The golden fringe even set the ground on flame,
And drew a precious trail: a crown divine
Of laurels did about their temples twine.
Three henchmen were for every knight assign'd,
All in rich livery clad, and of a kind:
White velvet, but unshorn, for cloaks they wore,
And each within his hand a truncheon bore:
The foremost held a helm of rare device;
A prince's ransom would not pay the price.
The second bore the buckler of his knight;
The third of cornel-wood a spear upright,
Headed with piercing steel, and polish'd bright.
Like to their lords their equipage was seen,
And all their foreheads crown'd with garlands green.
And after these came, arm'd with spear and shield,
A host so great as cover'd all the field,
And all their foreheads, like the knights before,
With laurels ever-green were shaded o'er,
Or oak, or other leaves of lasting kind,
Tenacious of the stem, and firm against the wind.

Some in their hands, besides the lance and shield,
The boughs of woodbine or of hawthorn held,
Or branches for their mystic emblems took,
Of palm, of laurel, or of cerrial-oak.
Thus marching to the trumpet's lofty sound,
Drawn in two lines adverse, they wheel'd around,
And in the middle meadow took their ground.
Among themselves the tourney they divide,
In equal squadrons ranged on either side.
Then turn'd their horses' heads, and man to man,
And steed to steed opposed, the jousts began.
They lightly set their lances in the rest,
And, at the sign, against each other press'd.

In tracing this approximation of manners and amusements under the Plantagenets and the Tudors, we are naturally tempted to inquire whether civilization had retrograded or advanced, was stationary or progressive? After a lapse of more than two centuries, the age of Edward the Third continued to be quoted as the *ne plus ultra* of English glory; and to reclaim his triumphs was still the pretext of ambitious princes, and the object of the credulous people. Unquestionably, the nation had increased in wealth, and the court improved in luxury. The royal cupboard of plate had added three stages to its former dimensions. Nobles and priests were robed in cloth of gold; cavaliers and their steeds exhibited equal magnificence; but where was the elegant gallantry of the Black Prince, or the mingled courtesy and dignity of his illustrious father? Music and dancing, masquing and revelry, filled the palace; but the minstrels of the lay had departed; nor was there found another Chaucer to sustain the honour of the English muse. To scholars and wits it was occasionally permitted to share the great man's hospitality; whilst

buffoons were constantly and fondly protected: every splendid or luxurious household had its *fool* or *jester;* and of all the king's officers this should seem to have been the privileged favourite. But it must also be remembered, that in the age of Edward and his successor, Wickliffe *reasoned,* whilst Chaucer *sung.* The germs of the Reformation sprung forth; and but for the oppression of the clergy, and the superstition of the people, the conflicts and the triumphs of Luther had been gloriously anticipated. In both ages authority was opposed to reason, and bigotry to humanity: in both ages the advocates for free inquiry were consigned to dungeons, and the champions of religious liberty committed to the flames. If, in 1325, the bones of Wickliffe* were exhumed forty years after death, Hun's corpse was, in 1514, in like manner, dragged from the tomb to be burnt with living heretics; but it should be remembered, that Wickliffe and his followers were protected by the government against the bishops, and that the bishops were supported by the people. Under Henry the Eighth, the reformers, oppressed by the government, made zealous friends and found strenuous supporters in all classes of the community; a circumstance which distinctly proves that an important change had gradually been produced in

* The bones of Wickliffe were taken up and burnt forty-one years after death. In the reign of Henry the Eighth, Hun, a merchant-tailor, was committed to prison by the Bishop of London, on the charge of having Wickliffe's Bible in his possession: after his death, other articles of heresey being exhibited against him, his corpse was committed to the flames. This iniquitous transaction shook the credit of the clergy more than Luther's invectives! In France such sacrilege was frequently committed, under the imposing name of ecclesiastical authority.

the national character. Fortunately, the encroachments of the clergy on the laity had aroused that mighty, that invincible spirit of freedom, before which the strong arm of power shrinks into feebleness, and tyranny confesses the claim of justice. In the school of suffering the people had been taught to think and to act, to exercise the prerogative of reason, to assert the rights of humanity; the corruptions inherent in the old system were no longer to be concealed from suspicion or protected from contempt. The roots were already loosened, before the impetuous storm assailed the degenerate branches. Nor was it for the church alone that an eventful crisis was impending. In many existing customs and institutions might be detected symptoms of decay; the forerunners of approaching dissolution: the circumstances originally concurring in their formation had ceased to operate. What had once been necessary, was no longer useful; discord had succeeded to harmony; universal evil had grown out of temporary or partial good. To this class belonged the system of chivalry, so admirably adapted to a feudal and military age, but obviously misplaced in a more polished and regularly-organized society.

Under the Tudors, the passion for glory, coeval with the birth of chivalry, had degenerated into a fondness for pomp and pageantry; and even in their exterior, the slashed sleeves, and nodding plumes, betrayed a foppery unknown to the heroes of Poictiers and Cressy. The predilection for jousting had also an inevitable tendency to exalt physical above moral qualities, to give undue value to the accidental distinctions of birth and fortune, to challenge for beauty and strength exclusive homage and supremacy, to expend on the short-lived season of youth all the treasures of human life, and leave nothing but selfish regrets, or sensuality, or superstition, for unhonoured age.

In the clergy the discrepancy created by ancient usages and nascent principles was less open to observation. It was the privilege of their order, that men of talents, without regard to the invidious distinctions of *gentle* or *churlish* blood, might aspire to dignity and honour. They were allowed to fill the highest offices of the state, to supersede hereditary rank, and take place of the most illustrious nobility; but the sentiment from which they originally derived these privileges had gradually been weakened by their incautious abuse of power and wealth, their arrogant assumption of authority, and shameless perversion of all moral and religious obligations. Penances and pilgrimages were frequent; masses and indulgences might be purchased; monastic vows subsisted: but the self-denying spirit, the all-subduing enthusiasm that had led myriads to the Holy Sepulchre was extinct; the sacred halo of imagination that once encircled the shrine of superstition had vanished; the cloud of ignorance alone remained; and there was enough of light to discern the surrounding darkness.

After the revival of letters, the clergy, whatever state they assumed in their stalls or chapters, were no longer omnipotent in the minds of the people; the beneficent invention of printing disseminated that knowledge hitherto engrossed by the great and the *privileged;* a powerful sympathy was thus created between the *learned* and the *vulgar*. Man communicated with man; and in this mental collision the energies long dormant were called into vigorous activity. Over the elements of the Reformation, which emanated from Wickliffe, persecution had vainly exercised its repelling power: there resided in them an immortal essence, a spirit impenetrable to violence, and incapable of annihilation. By the agency of a poor despised monk they were

soon to assume another and more glorious form, to elicit truths still more important to the progress of moral and religious improvement: and ultimately to awaken that genuine love of justice, liberty, and independence, which can alone form the character of a noble and magnanimous people.

From a cursory glance of Henry's reign, it will be evident that those days of ignorance and despotism were pregnant with venality, perfidy, and corruption; nor with the exception of the Mores, the Colets, and the Cranmers, shall we easily discover among the statesmen or the favourites of his day examples of disinterestedness, honour, and probity. Without referring to the records of conventual visitation, without appealing to the contempt almost universally avowed for *monastic drones*, or glancing at the suspicious reputations of their frail sisters, it may be remarked that gaming and other profligate vices had infected both the court and the city, that the grossest immorality prevailed in the country, and that, generally speaking, the age of Henry was as little favourable to female modesty as to manly patriotism, and equally adverse to liberty and virtue.

To the era of the Reformation may be traced purer morals and more decorous manners. The example of Sir Thomas More's family were then no longer singular: female cultivation ceased to be rare when learning became the badge of a superior station; the progress of civilization was rapidly accelerated, and in little more than the revolution of half a century, those citizens who had been accustomed to witness with transports the mummery of pageants and tournaments, were capable of relishing dramatic compositions; and, without attending other schools of rhetoric and philosophy than the theatres at Bankside and Blackfriars, insensibly refined their ideas, and formed their taste, under the immortal auspices of Shakspeare.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE DESCENT OF THE BOLEYNES.—THE INTRODUCTION OF ANN BOLEYNE AT THE FRENCH COURT.

Sir Geoffrey Boleyne—Sir William Boleyne—The Earl of Surrey—Sir Thomas Boleyne—Anne Bullen—Infancy—The Lady Elizabeth—Fox—Wolsey—His Mission to France—His Character—His Rise—War with France—Catherine's Regency—Charles Brandon—Edmund de la Pole—His Death—Letter of Catherine of Arragon—Maximilian—Battle of Spurs—Letter of Catherine—Wolsey a Bishop—The Duchess of Surrey—War with Scotland—Battle of Flodden Field—Sir Charles Somerset—Henry's Favourites—A Tournament—The Princess Mary affianced to Louis XII.—Anne a Maid of Honour—Mary's Followers—The Voyage—The Landing—Cavalcade—Interview with the King—Louis XII.—Mary's Marriage—Her letter to Henry—Her attendants dismissed—The Tournament—Death of Louis XII.—Mary's Second Marriage—Her Pardon by Henry—Her Domestic Happiness.

The family of Bullen, or Boleyne, originally of French extraction, was transplanted to England soon after the Norman conquest; and having settled in Norfolk continued gradually to extend its patrimonial demesnes, and to confirm its pretensions to pure and uncontaminated ancestry. During three centuries, however, the Boleynes, from father to son, appear to have aimed only at maintaining their rank and influence among the provincial gentry, till Sir Geoffrey (Bolen), amidst the conflicts of York and Lancaster, exchanged the pastimes of hawking and hunting, for the

pursuits of commerce, and having entered the Mercer's Company, was, in 1457, advanced to the dignity of Lord Mayor of London, and subsequently invested with the titles of knighthood. In revolutionary times, hereditary distinctions are often levelled by accidental circumstances, and the possession of wealth becomes equivalent to power and nobility. The Lord of Hoo* and Hastings disdained not the alliance of the prosperous merchant, who, marrying one of his daughters, became the founder of a house, that was soon permitted to claim affinity with the noblest blood in the kingdom. Sir Geoffrey appears to have been one of those few favoured individuals, who never miss the critical moment for taking the tide of fortune; he continued sedulously to improve every opportunity of advancement, and after having given his well-portioned daughters to men of birth and consequence,† reserved for his son an estate fully adequate to the pretensions of a noble bride, who was one of the co-heiresses of the great Earl of Ormond.‡

In commemorating the singular felicity of this honourable citizen, it would be unjust to leave no record of his virtues; since he was not more conspicuous for shrewd sense, and enterprising perseverance, than for a munificent spirit, open-hearted liberality and manly independence. Not satisfied with having conferred blessings on the community in which he lived, he endeared his name to posterity by a magnificent bequest of 1000*l.* to the city

* This title became extinct.

† The daughters of Sir Geoffrey Bolen intermarried with the Cheyneys, the Heydons, and Fortescues of Norfolk.

‡ Thomas Boteler, or Butler, whose ancestors had suffered in the Lancastrian cause. See the third chapter.

of London, and a charitable donation of 200*l.* to the poor of Norfolk, his native county.*

Sir William Boleyn, his son, was equally fortunate and more aspiring than his predecessor; he attached himself to the court, and was one of the eighteen knights, whom Richard the Third invested with the order of the Bath, at his magnificent coronation: he was afterwards appointed deputy for the coasts of Norfolk and Suffolk. His father-in-law, though an Irish peer, possessed exclusively the privilege of sitting in the English House of Lords, where he was even allowed to take precedence of English barons. Such an alliance must naturally have awakened ambitious expectations; and either by the influence of the earl, or his own dexterous management, Sir William succeeded in forming intermarriages with several noble families, by which the most brilliant prospects were opened to his view.† His sanguine anticipations must, however, have been more than realised, by the subsequent union of his son Thomas with Elizabeth, daughter of the Earl of Surrey, a nobleman, in whom high birth was exalted by chivalrous valour, munificent liberality, and refined taste.‡

It was the avowed opinion of this peer, that the parliament

* The remains of Sir Geoffrey Bolen are deposited in St. Leonard's church, near the Old Jewry. From an old record referred to in Bloomfield's History of Norfolk, it appears that he purchased the manor of Blicking, in Norfolk, of Sir John Falstaffe, Knight.

† Unlike his benevolent father, Sir William bequeathed 10*l.* to three priests to celebrate masses for his soul. He was interred in Norwich cathedral.

‡ See Dr. Nott's very interesting account of the house of Howard, in his Life of Surrey.

alone could legitimate the authority of princes, and that whoever obtained its suffrage became the rightful sovereign. In conformity to this principle, he followed the banner of Richard the Third to Bosworth Field; an offence for which he was long immured in the Tower by Henry the Seventh. Being at length restored to favour, he displayed equal zeal and ability in the service of his new master, who, by an effort of magnanimity unparalled in the race of Tudor, sanctioned the nuptials of the earl's eldest son, Lord Thomas Howard, with his affianced bride, the Lady Anne, who was not only of royal blood, but the younger sister of Henry's own queen, Elizabeth. At the period of Sir Thomas Boleyn's marriage, the Earl of Surrey was in the zenith of power and prosperity, possessing the confidence of his sovereign, and the suffrage of the people. In sanctioning this unequal connexion, he may be supposed to have consulted his daughter's inclination, rather than his own ambition; but if he accepted as a son the object of her choice, he appears to have exacted from him unconditional obedience. The will of Surrey was henceforth to be the arbiter of his actions; and thus formed on his lessons, and directed by his experience, the grandson of the honest independent citizen Sir Geoffrey became a placeman, a pensioner, and a courtier.

In this career he was well fitted to succeed, by his native sagacity and polished manners; nor was his wife less formed to adorn a court. In her father's castle, accustomed to an almost princely magnificence, she had been ill prepared to preside in a private mansion, however opulent or luxurious. In that martial age, the rich barons of England vied with its monarchs in the extravagance of their establishments, their splendid liveries, and numerous retainers. In some instances, indeed, the baronial

castle assumed a character more truly royal than the king's palace. The noble house of Howard, like that of Percy, evinced a liberal predilection for literature and the arts, and alternately gave encouragement and protection to indigent poets, and adventurous scholars. Under the cautious administration of Henry the Seventh, useful talents alone were sought and respected, and diligence and circumspection preferred to more showy and brilliant accomplishments. During his reign, Sir Thomas Boleyn was not destined to obtain preferment, and he appears to have spent that interval in the retirement of his paternal mansion, at Rochford Hall* in Essex, where, in† 1597, his wife gave birth to the celebrated Anne, the scene of whose infancy is still pointed out to the curious inquirer, with many traditional observations. Henry the Eighth ascended the throne in 1509, and it was one of the first acts of his sovereignty to confer the place of deputy-warden of the customs of Calais (a sinecure producing a salary of thirty-six pounds per annum) on Sir Thomas Boleyn, who, from this time, became familiar with the court; and, with his accomplished wife, regularly took part in the splendid entertainments given by their youthful sovereign.

* Rochford Hall, in Essex, long the seat of the Botelers and Ormonds; from them transferred, by marriage, to the Boleyns. Rochford Hall is still in existence, and at present in the occupation of Mr. Harrison. In 1774, all the Rochford property devolved on the Tilney family. The manor of Rochford now belongs to Mr. Wellesley Pole. For a further account, see the Appendix, No. II., at the end of this volume.

† This date decidedly refutes the infamous calumny of Sanders, who asserts that Henry the Eighth, to gratify an illicit passion for the wife of Sir Thomas Boleyn, sent him on an embassy to France, and that Anne was the offspring of this adulterous connection. In reality, Anne was born two years before Henry's accession to the throne.

If happiness be measured by prosperity, the period of Anne Bullen's infancy must have formed for her family a season of uninterrupted felicity. Her grandfather, the great Earl of Surrey, presided in the council; his three sons, the Lords Thomas, Edmund, and Edward, engrossed the highest honours of the state; whilst his son-in-law, Sir Thomas Boleyn, without aspiring to naval or military triumphs, occupied a place in the royal household, and was soon selected, with other confidential agents, for those diplomatic transactions, which were only intrusted to men of approved talents and discretion. Naturally timid and circumspect, his ambition appears to have been checked by caution: even his talents were veiled by discretion; that exquisite tact of penetration, for which he has been called *the picklock of princes*, was but gradually unfolded; and although associated or implicated in almost every embassy during the first five-and-twenty years of Henry's reign, he long continued to feel the ascendancy of the house of Howard, and to rank rather with the satellites of the court, than the confidential ministers of the sovereign. As a man of letters, and a fine gentleman, he was personally more acceptable to Henry than the high-born nobles, or powerful prelates, who challenged the right of directing his counsels. The King was still more attracted by the manners of the Lady Elizabeth, his consort, who often assisted in the masque, and mingled in its nocturnal revelry; protected from reproach by the presence of her husband or her own illustrious relatives.*

Born in a family that boasted of its love for letters, she pos-

* She appears to have been the person designated by Hall, in his description of a masque (in 1510), in which the King took a part, and in which the princess and five other ladies appeared as Ethiopians.

sessed more cultivation than was usually found, even in ladies of exalted station. Henry relished her society, and as she was many years older than his queen, perhaps never suspected that his marked attentions* could be injurious to her reputation; but, although the conduct of Elizabeth appears to have been perfectly correct, it may be doubted whether her pride and ambition did not predominate over the more amiable affections of her sex. In submitting to an early separation from her children, two of whom were educated in exile† from their native country, she might have sacrificed maternal tenderness to the pride of the Howards or the ambition of the Boleyns; but in preparing for their future greatness, she must unquestionably have fulfilled her own conception of parental duty. In her age, not only moral feelings, but domestic affections, were perverted by an artificial system of society: nobility was honoured as virtue, and grandeur mistaken for felicity.

During the first five years of Henry's reign, the Earl of Surrey maintained his ascendancy in his favour; and as it was easy to perceive the King had little relish for the conversation of formal statesmen, he adroitly stigmatized the prudent maxims of Henry the Seventh, and rather stimulated than reproved the prodigality of his successor. By this delicate flattery, he might

* She was, says Loyd, his solace, not his sin.—In the attentions of Henry, though sanctioned by custom and courtesy, and in the envy they excited, originated the scandalous stories afterwards propagated with such malicious zeal by the enemies of Anne Boleyn and the Reformation.

† Anne and George. Loyd asserts, that the latter was bred up as a page in the imperial court; although he is known to have afterwards pursued his studies at Oxford. See "The Statesmen and Favourites of England."

justly hope to acquire a permanent empire over the King's mind: but courtier is counteracted by courtier; and it was reserved for Fox, Bishop of Winchester, with the short-sightedness peculiar to cunning, to raise up against the ancient house of Howard a man of yesterday, on whose gratitude or dependence he weakly expected to establish an unanswerable claim to future subserviency and obedience. The object of this speculation was no other than the celebrated Wolsey, a man with whose character and fortune it is not easy to discover a parallel in ancient or modern history. It is notorious that this great statesman was a butcher's son, born at Ipswich, and indebted to its free-school for his scholastic attainments; an obligation he afterwards repaid by the foundation of a classical college. His childhood developed extraordinary powers of application; ambition incited him to exertion: and since it was only within the church that a man of churlish blood was permitted to cherish emulation, he became a churchman, pursued his studies at Oxford, and at the age of fifteen obtained a degree from Magdalen College,* where his precocity procured him the appellation of the Boy-Bachelor. It was not long before he was elected Master of Magdalen School, and, having (as a tutor) attracted the patronage of the Marquis of Dorset, by that nobleman was presented to the living of Leamington in Somersetshire, where, but for an unforeseen circumstance, he might have lived and died, unknown to kings or statesmen, in lettered ease and affluent obscurity.

But to Wolsey was allotted a different destiny; and an auspicious disappointment conducted him to greatness. At the insti-

* This college was founded by Cardinal Wolsey in 1518, when he was in the zenith of his power, and subsisted till the period of his fall, in 1529.

gation of one Sir Amias Paulet, whom he had formerly offended, he received a personal affront, that either obstructed his induction, or induced him to relinquish his benefice.* Having once more to seek his fortune, he repaired to Calais, where he officiated as domestic chaplain of Sir John Naphant, a man connected with the court and in habits of intimacy with Fox, Bishop of Winchester, the confidential counsellor of Henry the Seventh. An opportunity was not long wanting to call forth Wolsey's superior talents. In the progress of his abortive treaty of marriage with Margaret of Savoy, Henry having occasion to despatch a trustworthy messenger to Flanders, applied to Fox to recommend a prompt and intelligent agent: the person chosen was Wolsey, who being, in every sense of the word, a *ready man*, was no sooner furnished with his despatches, than he hastened to St. Omer's, obtained an interview with the Emperor, and having duly executed his commission, travelled night and day with such expedition that, on his way back, he actually intercepted a messenger whom the King had sent with instructions, which he had already anticipated. On proceeding to court, the King, little suspecting that his commission was accomplished, gently rebuked him for having so long deferred his journey. An explanation followed, by which Henry was surprised into an acknowledgment of grateful admiration, and the diligent courier was soon rewarded with the deanery of Lincoln. On the death

* It has been said, that Wolsey was set in the stocks, a punishment reserved for base delinquents. Of whatever nature might be the injury received, it was afterwards amply revenged on Sir Amias Paulet, who was confined five years by the will of the omnipotent chancellor; to appease whose vindictive spirit he erected a gatehouse over the Middle Temple, which subsisted till the great fire of London.

of this prince, he was appointed almoner to his successor, to whom he became first acceptable, then necessary, and finally indispensable. Of Wolsey, in common with many other eminent personages, it might be observed, that he possessed every quality, good or bad, that conducts to fortune. To a daring spirit he added indefatigable perseverance; with the graces of eloquence he united exquisite flexibility and address, and all those aptitudes to dissimulation so essential to the favourite and useful to the statesman. Unchecked by any fixed principles of rectitude, his unconquerable ambition usurped the place of social sympathies and moral feelings. His most permanent sentiment was pride; yet could he stoop to rise, and cared little by what means he achieved his favourite object. In his intercourse with the world he had learnt to be serious with the grave, and convivial with the gay; but whilst his native arrogance assumed the expression of liberality, or disinterestedness, or dignity, the vindictive passions lurked in his breast; and in the most brilliant moments of his life he remained incapable of that magnanimity which scorns to trample on a fallen foe. Hitherto it had been his business to conciliate esteem, and inspire confidence; and such was his address, or his discretion, that his exaltation excited neither envy nor distrust even in the Bishop of Winchester, his original patron and benefactor. Wolsey was still the *ready man;* with powers of promptitude and self-possession never to be suspended; and happy were the king's counsellors to devolve on him the task of communicating to their sovereign those dry official details, to which he evidently lent no willing ear: but it could not long escape the penetration of Henry, how much the humble almoner surpassed the noble courtiers. On whatever theme he expatiated, persuasion dwelt on his lips; and the mo-

narch tasted in his conversation a degree of pleasure he experienced from no other society. Thus, by slow and imperceptible gradations, the obsequious priest acquired and assumed supremacy over those to whom he had once yielded submission; and persons of the highest rank no longer disdained to solicit his mediation, and to cultivate his friendship. From the noble family of Howard, however, his elevation extorted not respect, nor even courtesy, till they unwillingly learnt to discover the extent of his influence. With Sir Thomas Boleyn alone he appears to have soon established an intercourse like intimacy and confidence.

The first five years of this reign were spent in a succession of tournaments, masques, pageants, and other elaborate puerilities. The King thirsted for military renown; but his passion was ungratified, till, by the machinations of the pope, and the intrigues of Ferdinand, his crafty father-in-law, a desultory war commenced against France, in which Henry, under pretence of assisting his father-in-law, officiously interfered without either profit or glory. The death of Sir Edward Howard, the Lord High Admiral of England,* inspired in the Earl of Surrey bitter feelings of hostility towards France. Wolsey affected to catch the patriotic enthusiasm of his master to revive the glorious days of Edward the Third; and that nothing might be wanting to the

* Sir Edward Howard was one of the most gallant cavaliers of the age, and died, as he had ever wished to die, in struggling for glory; but unfortunately his life was sacrificed in a rash and abortive enterprise to destroy the French galleys in Brest Harbour. He was the most popular of the Howards, and his death was lamented as a national calamity. By this event, the care of his orphan daughters devolved on their grandfather; and one of them (Catherine) was afterwards destined to become the queen of Henry the Eighth.

resemblance, Henry determined to assume the command of his army, and valiantly to combat in person. As a proof how little importance was attached to practical experience, the Lord Thomas Howard, though almost new to nautical affairs, was promoted to the post of Lord High Admiral, which had been filled meritoriously by his ill-fated brother. Queen Catherine was constituted Regent, and on the Earl of Surrey devolved the onerous task of directing her councils. In this expedition, Henry was attended, not only by his confidant, Wolsey, but by his first favourite, Charles Brandon, the history of whose rise is creditable to the moral feelings of Henry the Seventh, and throws a solitary gleam of goodness over the harsh features of the Tudor race. In the last struggles between York and Lancaster, his father, Sir William Brandon, who had strenuously espoused the cause of Henry of Richmond, fell, the victim of honour and fidelity, in Bosworth Field. His family was taken under the conqueror's protection; and Charles, the second son, having been constantly associated in the studies and pleasures of Prince Henry, continued even after his accession to the throne to retain the same place in his affections. At this period Charles, already a widower, was confessedly one of the most handsome and accomplished cavaliers of the age, and endeared to his master by sympathy in tastes, habits, and amusements. Brandon alone had never to experience the fluctuations of his capricious humour, since to him he was uniformly kind, confiding, and indulgent. This extraordinary exemption might, in some degree, be ascribed to the influence which early associations are universally found to possess over the human heart; but is also to be accounted for by the favourite's obvious inferiority, in all but personal accomplishments, to the sovereign on whose protection he depended.

Brandon was eminently brave, and emulous of military glory; and it was equally the part of Henry to excite his ambition, and promote his fortune. He was, perhaps, not aware that his sister Mary, who had been contracted to the Prince of Castile, entertained for Brandon any warmer sentiment than friendship, although the extreme repugnance which the princess expressed to the idea of leaving England might have naturally suggested such an inference. The confidence of which he was in this instance capable, becomes the more striking, when contrasted with those traits of suspicion and stubbornness which began to predominate in his character; and which, even in this brilliant hour of youth, betrayed him to an action the most base and inglorious. It is well known that the unfortunate Edmund de la Pole, who, by the artifices of Henry the Seventh, had been enticed from his asylum in Flanders, still languished in the Tower, to which he had been committed as a state prisoner; even the ungenerous persecutor of the Plantagenets had pursued the victim no farther. Nor was any attempt made to cut short a life devoted to hopeless captivity, till, among other preliminary steps to the invasion of France, it appeared necessary to the Privy Council to dispose of a person against whom no other crime could be alleged than that he was of royal blood, and might hereafter form plausible pretensions to the crown. When this question was debated in the Privy Council, Sir Thomas Boleyn, with characteristic caution, opposed the King's leaving England, while such a rival remained in existence. The Earl of Surrey, on the contrary, contended that it would be unsafe to trust to the fidelity of the army, unless the King commanded in person; so little confidence was reposed in the loyalty of the subject, or the honour of the soldier, and so completely are despotism and ignorance subver-

sign of security to the sovereign, and of probity in the people! To put an end to doubts and scruple, Henry instantly signed the warrant for De la Pole's death; and thus offered his first victim to those fantastic terrors, which, during his whole reign, ceased not to haunt his mind with ominous predictions of a disputed succession. In every age the sophistical doctrine of political expediency has lent its pernicious license to cruelty and injustice. Under the dynasty of the Tudors, when the sense of rectitude was blunted by ignorance and superstition, the partial torpor of the understanding seems to have reached the heart; since the immolation of De la Pole is scarcely noticed even by those contemporary historians who have inveighed against Henry's subsequent crimes. It was for Catherine alone to oppose this barbarous policy; and, although her intercession was unavailingly employed to rescue the injured prince from destruction, she ceased not to deplore his fate, predicting that his innocent blood would be avenged on his enemies and their posterity.* The horror with which she contemplated this legal murder, increased her melancholy in witnessing Henry's departure; and it was her best consolation, to extract from Wolsey those minute details, which she hoped not to obtain from her husband. In the following letter she probably might be assisted by an English pen; but the sentiments are evidently dictated by anxious feminine tenderness.

* Previous to Catherine's marriage with Arthur, her grandfather, Ferdinand, is said to have stipulated for the destruction of Edmund de la Pole, lest his future claims should interfere with the interests of his daughter's descendants. It is pretended by Le Grand and other Catholic writers, that Catherine considered her subsequent trials and misfortunes as ordained by retributory Providence.

Catherine (of Arragon) Queen of England, to Wolsey,
(Orig. 1513.*)

"Master Almoner, thinking that the King's dep'ting from Calais shall cause that I shall not so often hear from his grace, for the great business in his journey that every day he shall have, I send now my servant, to bring me word of the King, and he shall tarry there till another cometh, and so I shall hear every week from thence and so I pray you to take the [*pains*] with every one of my messengers to write to me of the King's health and [*what*] he intendeth to do; for when you be so near your enemies, I shall be [*miserable,*] till I see often letters from you, and doing this ye shall give me cause to thank you; and I shall know that the mind ye have had to me continueth still, as my trust always hath been. The briefs that the pope sent to the King I was very glad to see, and I shall be more to hear that he is the mean, either to make an honourable peace for the King, or else help on his part, as much as he can, knowing that all the business that the King hath was first the cause of the church, and with this and the Emperor together, I trust to God that the King shall come home shortly, with as great victory as any prince in the world, and this I pray God send him without need of any other prince.——Sir Almoner, touching Francesse de Cassery's matter, I thank you for your labours therein: true it is she was my woman before she was married, but now, Sir, she cast herself away; I have no more charge of her: for very pity to see her lost I prayed you, in Canterbury, to find the means to

* Copied from MS. in the British Museum. Caligula, D. VI. 28.—N. B. The words enclosed in brackets are supplied, the original being effaced.

send her home into her country; now ye think that, with my recommendation to the Duchess of *Savoy*, she shall be content to take her into her service, this, Mr. Almoner, is not mete for her; for she is so *pillous* a woman, that it shall be dangerous to put her in a strange house; if you will do so much for me to make her go hence by the way, with the ambassador of the King my father, it should be to me a great pleasure, and one that ye shall bind me to you more than ever I was. From hence I have nothing to write to you, but every body here is in good health, thanked be God, and the counsail very diligent in all things concerning the expedition of the King's Grace; and ye will do so much to pray the King to be so good lord as to write to them, that he is informed by me [*how*] so well every thing is done by them, that he is very well content thereat and give them thanks for it, bidding them so to continue. And with this I make an end on this .... day of July."

Catherine of Arragon, Queen of England, to Wolsey. (Orig. *August*, 13, 1513.)*

"Master Almoner, I received both the letters by Copynger and John Glyn, and I am very glad to hear so [*how*] well the King passeth his dangerous passage ..... I trust to God it shall so continue that ever the King shall have ..... best on his enemies with as great honor as ever King had. Till I saw your letter I [*was*] troubled to hear [*how*] so near the King was to the siege of Trouenne .... but now I thank God ye make me sure of the good heed that the King taketh of himself, to avoid all manner of dangers. I pray you, good Mr. Almoner, remember the King always thus to continue, for with his life and health

* Caligula, D. VI. 29.

there is nothing in the world that shall come amiss, by the grace of God, and . . . . without that, I can see no manner of good thing shall fall after it, and being sure that ye will not forget this, I will say herein no more, but I pray you to write . . . . to me and though ye have no great matters, yet I pray you send me word . . . . the chief that it is to me from the King's own self. Ye may think, when I put you to this labour, that I forget the great business that ye have on hand; but if ye see . . . . in what case I am that is without any comfort or pleasure unless I hear from him, ye will not blame me to desire you though it be a short letter, to let me know from you tidings as often as may be, as my trusting dispatch unto you. From hence, I have no thing to write to you, but that ye be not so busy in this . . . . war, as we be here encumbered with it. I mean that touching my own concerns, for going farther, where I shall not so often hear from the King. And all his subjects be very glad, I thank God, to be busy with the goff,* for they take it for . . . . passtime; my heart is very good to it and I am horribly busy with making . . . standards, banners, and bagets. I pray God first to send there with you a good battail, as I trust he shall do, and with that every thing here shall go very well . . . . . you to send

* This passage evidently alludes to the popular game of goffe, of which the following account is given in Strutt's Sports and Pastimes: —"There are many games played with the ball, that require the assistance of a club or bat, and probably the most ancient among them is the pastime now distinguished by the name of *goff*. In the northern parts of the kingdom, goff is much practised. It requires much room to perform this game with propriety: it answers to a rustic pastime of the Romans, which they played with a ball of leather stuffed with feathers, called *paganica;* and the goff-ball is composed of the same materials to this day."

me word whether you received the letters that I sent unto you to . . . . of the King my father and what answer he gave you to it; and with this . . . . . an end. At Richmount the xiiij. day of August.

"CATHERINE."

The most remarkable circumstance of this campaign, was that Henry took into his pay the Emperor Maximilian, notorious for combining prodigality with meanness, and that he was lodged at an enormous expense in a tent of cloth of gold.* The royal camp was an ever-shifting scene of pomp and festivity. A herald was received on one day; an embassy entertained the next; excursions succeeded to skirmishes; and Henry and his courtiers visited Maximilian's daughter, Margaret, the Duchess Dowager of Savoy, who was also governess of the Netherlands: to crown all, he *defeated* the French, or rather *displaced* them, in the celebrated *Journée des Esperons*, or battle of the *spurs;* so called, because the enemy only spurred their horses to fly from the field. A victory, such as this, was little flattering to the descendants of those conquerors, who had immortalized the names of Cressy and Agincourt; but flattery and policy exaggerated its importance. *Te Deum* was sung in the churches; bonfires blazed through the streets; the Emperor and the King reciprocated compliments; and Catherine, with grateful exultation, addressed to Wolsey the following letter, in which she is evidently impressed with reverence for the dignity of the imperial soldier Maximilian.

* The Emperor Maximilian was at once crafty and presumptuous, extravagant and rapacious, a baser counterpart of Ferdinand of Arragon.

Catherine (of Arragon), Queen of England, to Wolsey. (*Orig.* after the battle of the Spurs. *August* 25, 1513).*

"Master Almoner; what comfort I have with the good tidings of your letter I need not write it to you; for the very account that I have sheweth it the victory hath been so great, that I think none such hath been seen before: all England hath cause to thank God of it, and I especially, seeing that the King beginneth so well, which is to me a great hope that the end shall be like. I pray God send the same shortly, for if this continue so still, I trust in Him that every thing shall follow thereafter to the King's pleasure and my comfort. Mr. Almoner, for the pains ye take remembering to write to me so often, I thank you for it with all my heart, praying you to continue still sending me word how the King doeth, and if he keep still his good rule as he began, I think, with the company of the *Emperor*, and with his good council his grace shall not adventure himself so much as I was afraid of before. I was very glad to hear the meeting of them both, which hath been, to my fancying, the greatest honour to the King that ever came to prince. The Emperor hath done every thing like himself. I trust to God he shall be thereby known for one of the gallantest princes in the world, and taken for another man that he was before thought. Mr. Almoner, I think myself that I am so bound to him for my part, that in my letters I beseech the King to recommend me unto him; and if his grace thinketh that this shall be well done, I pray you to remember it. News from hence I have none, but such as I am sure the council have advertised the King

* Caligula, D. VI. 80.

of,* and thereby ye see Almighty God helpeth here our part, as well as there. I trowe the cause is, as ..... here say, that the King disposeth himself to him so well, that I hope all ... shall be the better for his honour, and with this I make an end, at .... the XXV. day of August.

"G. KATHERINA."

From this victory, of which Catherine's love magnified the importance, nothing resulted, but that Henry retreated towards Tournay, of which he obtained possession, merely, it should seem, to give Wolsey a bishopric, and to prove, according to the almoner's artful suggestion, that he could reduce to obedience a town, whose ancient inhabitants had resisted the arms of Cæsar. To these exploits succeeded a tournament, in honour of the governess of the Netherlands.† Jousting or feasting employed the day, dancing and masquing consumed the night; whilst Henry, elate with joy and vanity, took upon himself to enthral Margaret and Charles Brandon (lately created Viscount Lisle) in a mutual passion. Either from policy or inclination, the Duchess of Savoy was observed to lavish smiles and courte-

* Catherine alludes to the victory obtained by the Earl of Surrey at Flodden Field.

† This princess was, in her childhood, contracted to Charles the Eighth, from whose court she was suddenly dismissed to make room for the marriage of that prince with Anne of Brittany. At the age of seventeen Margaret espoused the Prince of Castile, who dying in two years, she married the Duke of Savoy, and again became a widow at one-and-twenty: from that period she is said to have protested against the surrender of her independence. The Netherlands prospered under her government, and she was certainly entitled to take place with the best statesmen of the age.

sies on the amiable cavalier; but neither his birth nor station could sanction pretensions to the daughter of an emperor; nor was the strong-minded Margaret likely to sacrifice prudence to love; it may, therefore, be presumed, her attention was merely a political fiction, devised by her crafty father, or the more subtle Wolsey, who, perfectly aware of the mutual attachment subsisting between the favourite and the Princess Mary, had suggested this expedient to detach them from each other. By whatever agency the illusion was created, Brandon affected to become its dupe; so willed his sovereign, who, however kind and indulgent on ordinary occasions, had been too long invested with power, not to require from his favourite unconditional obedience. Fortunately for the interests of his true passion, Henry, whom four months had sickened of war, no longer deferred his return to Richmond, where his Queen impatiently awaited his arrival, and where, if we may believe the chronicler, there was such a loving meeting, that it *rejoiced every one to behold.** It is indeed somewhat singular, that under Catherine's delegated authority, Henry should have obtained the most brilliant and important victory that adorned his reign.

During his absence from England, James the Fourth of Scotland, a gallant† prince, married to his elder sister Margaret, had seized the opportunity to invade England, expecting, by this irruption, to promote the cause of his ally, Louis the Twelfth. After spreading terror and devastation through the northern

* Hall.

† James the Fourth of Scotland was, in the language of chivalry, the devoted knight of Anne of Brittany, and was, in his political conduct, supposed to have been influenced by sentiments of romantic fidelity for a princess he had never beheld.

counties he invested Norham castle, which was soon forced to capitulate; and to arrest his progress, the gallant Earl of Surrey, supported by his two brave sons, the Lord Thomas, and Sir Edmund Howard, gave him battle on Flodden Field. To the invaders the day proved fatal: their army was routed; their king slain; his natural son, the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, with several prelates, left dead on the field, and, in reality, the Scotch received a check, from which, during Henry's reign, they never perfectly recovered.

It is easy to imagine how much the recollections and the trophies of this glorious victory must have heightened the satisfaction with which Catherine welcomed back her lord and sovereign. Happily for her peace, she knew not with what ardent admiration he had beheld the beautiful wife of Sir Gilbert Tailboys,* (governor of Calais,) the first acknowledged rival in her husband's affections. Henry was neither slow to acknowledge, nor unwilling to recompense the valour of his subjects. At a solemn festival, and in the presence of unnumbered spectators, he created the Earl of Surrey Duke of Norfolk; and having offered this proper tribute to the conqueror of James the Fourth, proceeded to dispense his favours, with somewhat more of liberality than discrimination, on the associates of his late expedition. In this chosen number, the most partially distinguished was Wolsey, advanced to the archbishopric of York, which he was permitted to hold with the see of Lincoln. That Henry

* This lady, the daughter of Sir John Blount, appears to have been one of the most beautiful and accomplished women of her time. After her husband's death she was notoriously the King's mistress, and had by him a son called Henry Fitzroy, born in 1519, created Duke of Richmond, in 1525, who died in 1537.

did not, however, overlook the favourites of a former age, was proved by the preferment of his chamberlain, Sir Charles Somerset Lord Herbert of Gower, who for his late conduct in France was created Earl of Worcester. Of this veteran courtier it is worthy of remark that, like Sir Charles Brandon, he had been the architect of his own fortune; having surmounted, by personal merit, the prejudices attached to illegitimate birth, and almost effaced the stigma which his mother's frailty had left on her honourable ancestry. His father, who was avowedly the Duke of Somerset, dying without heirs, the ambitious youth challenged from courtesy the recognition of his natural rights, by assuming the name of Somerset. This gallant spirit won the good will of Henry the Seventh, at whose court he was soon distinguished among the train of esquires, and expectant courtiers, as the object of his especial favour. Raised to the dignity of a banneret, he obtained the hand of Elizabeth, the wealthy heiress of the Earl of Huntingdon; and on the demise of his father-in-law was exalted to the peerage by the style of Lord Herbert Baron Gower le Chevalier. From that period Sir Charles Somerset acquired a decided influence in the Council; and by his prudence and moderation endeared himself to the people. On the accession of Henry the Eighth, the citizens, by his mediation, presented petitions against Empson and Dudley; and to his persuasion was in part ascribed the resolution with which Henry commenced his reign, of redressing the grievances of the people. In the expedition against France, Somerset attended not merely in a civil but a military capacity; and, dismissing the sedate habits of the Lord Chamberlain, resumed the martial exercises of his youth, and emulated in ardour and bravery his juvenile compeers. The favourites and statesmen of Henry's court were

individually distinguished by some predominant quality. The Howards were characterised by magnificence, the Earl of Bedford by courtesy, Sir Charles Brandon by gallantry; whilst of Sir Charles Somerset the prevailing attributes appear to have been dignity and decorum; whilst this nobleman was proclaimed Earl of Worcester, for diligence and fidelity, Charles Brandon was created Duke of Suffolk, for the express purpose, as it should seem, of wedding the august governess of the Netherlands. Henry was still bent on promoting this alliance; but busy rumour whispered that his friend was more likely to win the beautiful Mary of England, than the ambitious Margaret of Savoy. In a tournament at Greenwich, however, the Duke chose a device, evidently alluding to his Flemish mistress. On this occasion, clad as a pilgrim, with a long silver beard, he exhibited a staff, on which was inscribed the motto of "*Who can hold that will away?*" and hence it was conjectured that he persevered with his suit, and that he anticipated a prosperous issue. With whatever feelings Mary might witness this ostentatious demonstration of her knight's inconstancy, she had no alternative but to disguise her chagrin with the semblance of gayety and good-humour. It is, indeed, possible, that she gave little faith to the unwelcome conjecture; and, her marriage-treaty with the Prince of Castile being annulled, she might secretly exult in the conviction, that the man of her choice was not held unworthy of alliance with a lady whose birth and station were even more illustrious than her own; but whatever hopes she might have cherished, they were annihilated by a few strokes of the statesman's pen. A treaty of peace was concluded with France, of which Mary was destined to become the unwilling guarantee, and, at eighteen, constrained to pledge her faith to Louis, who had already com-

pleted his fifty-sixth year, and, from illness and infirmity, appeared to have prematurely reached the extremity of old age. Even Henry, though eager to secure to her a royal diadem, at first recoiled from the proposal; but his scruples were obviated by the plausible suggestion of Wolsey, that Mary, if she survived Louis, would be at liberty to return to England, mistress of herself, and of a princely dower, not inferior to what had been settled on her predecessor, Anne of Brittany. The final ratification of this article by the French court removed every impediment to the marriage; and the Duke of Longueville, who, since the campaign, had been detained a prisoner of war in England, was authorized to solemnize by proxy the auspicious espousals. Finding resistance unavailing, Mary submitted quietly to her fate; and Henry, who could not, without regret, part from a beloved sister, the sprightly playmate of his childhood, not only reiterated his solemn assurances that she should hereafter reclaim fraternal protection, but attempted to divert her chagrin by the magnificence of her bridal establishment. In these arrangements the ascendancy of the house of Howard was strikingly apparent: to the Duke of Norfolk was intrusted the guardianship of her person; his two sons assisted in the charge; Sir Thomas Boleyn was associated with the Bishop of Ely in the diplomatic department, and his daughter Anne, though scarcely seven years old, attached to the young queen's person, with the imposing title of Maid of Honour. Although this early introduction to court was justly considered as an especial favour to her family, it was a distinction often conferred on girls of illustrious birth, who, in being thus admitted to a royal household, were gradually formed to the habits and duties of their vocation, and naturally acquired appropriate manners and sentiments to

their adopted country. Exclusive of her personal attendants, Mary's retinue was swelled by a swarm of supernumerary volunteers, of whom many desired but to wear out life in a state of parasitical indulgence; whilst others, disguising ambition under the mask of loyalty, expected, by pompous demonstrations of zeal for the honour of their beautiful Princess, to acquire undisputed title to her future patronage and protection. The spirit of adventure pervading the lower ranks of the community, was alike inimical to industry, probity, and independence. In them, such was the reverence for gentility, and such the passion for pomp and pageantry, that it was equally common for an individual to sink his whole property in the purchase of a pair of colours, or a suit of court-clothes; to follow the soldier of fortune; or volunteer in some noble lord's or lady's train, with the doubtful chance of favour and preferment. The canopy of a royal bride was the banner to which idleness, profligacy, and vanity hastened to vow allegiance. Many sunk, and others mortgaged their whole property to procure an equipage suitable to the occasion; others contracted debts on a perilous contingency, and abjured honesty, in renouncing independence. It may, indeed, be suspected, that independence was not to be appreciated by those whose distaste to serious and useful occupation was heightened by contempt for the duties of humble life, and avidity for the honours of a brilliant station.

The elevation of an English Princess to the throne of France, was an event of too much interest not to attract adventurers of every class to her standard; and the bridal train of Mary, including guards, domestics, and retainers, amounted to the alarming number of three thousand followers, who were crowded together in the fleet appointed to conduct her to Boulogne.

It was on the 2d of October that she embarked at Dover, to which place she had been accompanied by Henry and Catherine. Her visible depression excited pity: and it was generally believed that she would have preferred Charles Brandon and old England, to Louis and his crown.

The voyage, though brief, was rough and perilous; and the little fleet being separated by a tempest, the royal yacht alone reached the harbour of Boulogne, from whence a boat was launched for the Princess and her female attendants. When they approached land, the violence of the surf impeded their course; but from this irksome situation Mary was extricated by the gallantry of an English knight,* who, plunging into the waves, bore her in his arms uninjured to the shore. Once landed, the unwilling guest was overwhelmed with homage and felicitation. The air resounded with shouts of joy; and, sorrowful and exhausted as she really was, a sense of propriety extorted from her answering smiles, and expressions of complacency. At Boulogne, her train received a considerable augmentation, and at the head of the French nobility came the Duke of Angouleme (the son-in-law of Louis), afterwards so celebrated as Francis the First, hitherto distinguished only by his fondness for jousting and hunting; his ardour in the pursuits of love and gallantry, his exuberant gayety, and expensive, but not untasteful magnificence. Like Henry, Francis had received a learned education, but had not, like him, plunged into the muddy streams of theology and Thomas Aquinas. Imbued with the love of letters and the arts, he found leisure, amidst all his dissipation, for classical poetry; and in some measure atoned for his varnished vices by elegant libations to the muses. Naturally volatile and impetuous, he cherished

* Sir Christopher Garnish.

a chivalrous sentiment of honour, which, in the absence of moral and religious principles, imparted to his character an occasional elevation and generosity the most imposing and attractive. It required all the gallantry for which he was pre-eminent, to greet with enthusiasm a woman who came to divest him of the title of Dauphin, and eventually, perhaps, to blast his long-cherished hopes of the French crown. Such, however, was the homage yielded to beauty, that, having once seen, he appeared but to live for her service. Under his escort she proceeded on her journey with more state than comfort. Attired in a robe and mantle of cloth of gold, she rode with ease and dignity a white palfrey, loaded with gilt trappings, and followed by thirty-six ladies, attired and mounted in a style of similar magnificence.*

In the rear of this cavalcade came three chariots (each not unlike a pleasure cart), covered with purple velvet, and cloth of gold, judiciously provided for such as aspired not to be equestrians; in one of which, it may be presumed, sat the little Anne Boleyn. Behind these lumbering vehicles marched a gallant band of archers, habited in green, their bows and arrows slung with an expression of mingled gayety and impetuosity. The baggage-wagons that closed the rear might have suggested a comparison with the equipage of an oriental bride, or rather, with the onset of a royal crusade. The sumpter-mules announced plenty; music floated in the air, and a succession of sweet or martial strains soothed the Princess, and enlivened her attendants; nor was the gallantry of the age without its influence in softening the fatigues of their pilgrimage: every lady rode

* It may, however, be remarked, that the distinction of crimson damask, or cloth of gold, formed a criterion by which was ascertained the dignity of the rider.

between two cavaliers; and the Queen found, in the Duke of Angouleme, the most engaging companion. In this manner, on the second afternoon, they approached Abbeville, where Louis, who had anxiously awaited the arrival, was at length seized with such a paroxysm of impatience, that, forgetting his infirmities, he mounted his horse, and, at a little distance from the town, descried the unknown beloved. Little as Mary could have sympathized in the ardour of her aged lord, she well knew what was due to courtesy, and was no sooner apprised of his presence, than she made an effort to alight, to offer, as in duty bound, her obsequious homage; but the cumbersome ornaments of her dress cruelly impeded her movements. Perceiving her embarrassment, the gallant monarch, with a glance expressive of surprise and admiration, turned his horse into another direction, and, satisfied that rumour had not exaggerated her charms, returned by a private road to Abbeville, pensive and solitary; not, perhaps, without some compunctious recollections of the moment when, to gratify his passion for Anne of Brittany, he had repudiated a blameless wife,* the daughter of his predecessor, and thus sullied with injustice and ingratitude an otherwise mild and beneficent reign. To Anne, indeed, he had been attached with a tenderness and truth rarely witnessed in their exalted station. Fidelity and harmony crowned their union; and he was plunged by her death into a melancholy that resisted all ordinary persuasives to consolation. In permitting his son-in-law to assume

* Joan of France, the daughter of Louis XI., after her death canonized as a saint. Louis XII., when Duke of Orleans, had been enamoured of Anne, Duchess of Brittany, who having been first married by troth to Maximilian of Austria, was eventually married by force to Charles VIII. of France.

the title of Dauphin, he tacitly disclaimed the intention of forming a second marriage; nor was it till policy suggested the expediency of an alliance with Henry, that he determined to take another partner to his throne,—submitting, in common with the object of his choice, to the authority of statesmen, and the supposed interests of the state: but his reluctance once vanquished, he was not insensible to the *eclât* of espousing the fairest princess in Europe, poor as was the solace, that reason permitted him to hope, from the association of a youthful beauty, whose tastes and propensities must be wholly unsuited to the habits and infirmities of his declining age. In the momentary glance that he exchanged with his new consort, he saw enough to justify the encomiums bestowed on her charms, but he saw also, with dismay, the number and splendour of her attendants; and, to prevent future disturbance, resolved to lose no time in ridding himself of such formidable intruders. On the morrow, the nuptials were solemnized in the church of St. Denis, with due pomp and ceremony; a sumptuous banquet followed; and, that nothing might be omitted to conciliate the young Queen, the most marked attentions were lavished on her English guests.* But, at the moment that Mary saw herself the idol of Louis, and the French

* By a document preserved in Leland's Collectanea, it appears, that to each of the lords and gentlemen twenty days' wages were given in advance. The Duke of Norfolk was furnished with a hundred horses, with an allowance of five pounds per day; for the Marquis of Dorset (viz. eighty horses), four pounds per day; the Bishop of Duresme had sixty horses; the Earl of Surrey, fifty-eight; others of the nobility had thirty or twenty each: in addition to these, were eighteen bannerets and knights, with from twenty to twelve horses each: the esquires of the body had thirteen and four-pence per day; exclusive of these, John Mydlow headed fifty officers of the King's household.

court, where the nobility and the Duke of Angouleme were emulous in offering the incense of adulation, the most cruel mortification was inflicted on her feelings; and the King, after a profusion of compliments, suddenly dismissed the whole English party,* protesting he could never sufficiently evince his gratitude for their care of his beloved consort Mary.

The emotions with which Mary received this intimation, may be more easily conceived than described; and she has herself left a genuine transcript of her feelings, in the following letter,† addressed to Henry:—

"My good brother;

"So heartily as I can, I recommend me to your Grace, admiring much that I have never heard from you, since my departing, so often as I have sent and written to you; and now am I left heartless, alone, in effect; for on the morn next after my marriage, my chamberlain with other gentlemen were discharged. In like wise [manner] my mother Guildeford,‡ with other my women and maid-servants, except such as never had experience or knowledge how to advise, or give me counsel in any time of need, which is to be feared more shortly than your

* The ladies appointed to attend on the French Queen were the Lady Guildeford, the Lady Elizabeth Gray, daughter of the Marquis of Dorset, Mrs. Elizabeth Ferrers, and Mrs. Anne Boleyn. The latter was permitted to remain; a favour, without doubt, conceded to the Duke of Norfolk, in consideration of her being his relation. In the document, preserved by Leland, Anne is called M. Boleyn; an inaccuracy which may have been supposed to lend some plausibility to the erroneous assertion of Sanders, that Mary Boleyn was the elder sister.

† Cotton Manuscripts.

‡ The lady thus designated was the Lady Guildford, wife of Sir Henry Guildford.

Grace thought at the time of my departing, as my mother G. can more plainly show than I can write, to whom I beseech you to give audience, and if may be by any means possible, I humbly request you to cause my said mother G. to repair hither, once again; for else if any chance hap, other than well, I shall not know where nor of whom to ask any good counsel, to your pleasure, nor yet to mine own advantage. I marvel much that my Lord of Norfolk would at all times so lightly quit anything at their request. I am well assured, that when ye know the truth of every thing, as my mother G. can show you, ye would full little have thought, I should have been thus intreated. Would to God my Lord of York had come with me, in the room of my Lord of Norfolk; for then I am sure I should have been left much more at my heart's ease, than I am now, and thus I bid your Grace farewell, and more heart's ease than I have now. The 29th day of October.

"These go to my mother Guildeford, of your loving sister,

"MARY, Queen."

The dissatisfaction of Mary could not escape the observation of Francis, who, to divert her chagrin, caused a tournament to be proclaimed, in honour of the nuptials, to which all the English nobility were freely invited; and he rightly judged such visiters to be best calculated to soften her disappointment. In the mean while Louis dismissed the Queen's nobler attendants with magnificent presents; but to the humbler and more necessitous part of her retinue, neither humanity nor policy prompted him to offer any compensation for a disappointment by which they were probably involved in beggary and ruin. Of the gay and gallant train, who had so lately followed in triumph their admired Princess, no vestige could be discerned in those miser-

ably destitute beings, who returned like worn-out pilgrims from a disastrous crusade. There were some who never reached their country to relate their adventures in a foreign land; many perished under the hardships they had to encounter in a journey from Abbeville to Calais or Dover—without money or other means of obtaining subsistence, and, if we may believe the chroniclers,* some *went mad;* such was the wretchedness entailed on those indigent retainers of the great, who lived but to swell the pomp, and emblazon the prodigality of their arrogant lords. It appears not whether Mary was perfectly aware of the misery she had innocently occasioned. She was, perhaps, occupied with more pleasing anticipations of joy and triumph. In France, as in England, the name of a tournament created general interest and enthusiasm. The mutual jealousies subsisting between French and English knights, assumed on such occasions the high tone of patriotic sentiment, and the eagerness of personal emulation was exalted by a nice sense of national dignity and honour. The challenge of Francis was therefore received with transport by all who sighed for distinction, and possessed the indispensable requisites of a splendid suit, and a mettled courser. The Duke of Suffolk, too gallant to be rich, belonged not to this happy number; but Henry loved him, and, wishing to obtain, in the person of his friend, that triumph which he could not challenge for himself, he readily furnished him with money for the costly enterprise. Not one moment was to be lost by the candidates for chivalric fame. Horses and men were hastily embarked; and the English party arrived in time to witness the ceremony of Mary's coronation, on the 5th of November, in the abbey of St. Denis, when the Duke of Angouleme, with his wonted gal-

* Hall. Speed.

lantry, held suspended over the young Queen's head the heavy Gothic crown, which might otherwise have crushed her beautiful tresses. On the following day she made her public entry into Paris, where, amongst other honours, she was met by three thousand persons belonging to religious communities, who, in France, appear to have mingled more freely than in England in public processions. On either side of this fair pageant walked the French and English nobles, preceded by a formidable troop of Germans, and followed by the King's Scotch guard, who in those days were justly considered the satellites of royalty. The Queen was carried like an idol, in a chair of state, draped with cloth of gold, which was not suffered to conceal her person from the public gaze. On her head she wore a coronet of pearls; her neck and bosom blazed with jewels. After this fatiguing ceremony, Mary was reconducted to her own apartments, and from thence to a sumptuous dinner and an overwhelming banquet. Finally, oppressed with compliments and congratulations, she had to preside at the midnight-ball, in which she could not but miss the gay exhilaration that her brother Henry was accustomed to infuse into those otherwise monotonous amusements. But the next day presented more interesting objects. It was the tournament in honour of her auspicious nuptials: nor could she refuse to participate in the exultation of her countrymen, when in the face of the first nobility of England and France, she was to maintain the proud pre-eminence of beauty, and receive the tribute of universal homage. The scene of pleasure was in the arena before the Bastile, in the Rue St. Antoine. A triumphal arch was there raised, emblazoned with the arms of France and England: beneath them were exhibited four targets; the first of gold, the second of silver, the third of ebon-black, the fourth

of a tawny hue; on which were incribed the names and pretensions of the respective challengers.* Near the arch was erected a theatre, open on all sides, of which the most conspicuous part was occupied by the royal family. The Queen stood in front of the combatants; and, proudly conscious that she was herself the first object of attraction, continued with goddess-like port to dispense her lovely smiles, and display the most bewitching graces to her enraptured votaries. Whilst the much-envied Louis, reclining on a couch, with difficulty supported the fatigue of witnessing this scene of splendour, and was probably tempted to draw some unpleasant comparisons between the fascinating Mary and to her more companionable predecessor. During three days had the suffering husband to brook the dissonant sounds of mirth and acclamation. During three days the jousts continued with frightful vehemence; French and English knights contended like Greeks and Trojans, with unappeasable fury: on either side three hundred heroes entered the lists; some fell in the field; many were disabled for life; and Francis himself, severely wounded, was forced to quit the lists. Like Achilles, Brandon was everywhere the successful combatant; yet, on one occasion, even he seemed on the brink of destruction,† when, at the

* He whose name was inscribed on the silver target was to tilt; the gold intimated that he should run with sharp spears and fight with sharp swords; the black shield denoted that the knight was to fight on foot with swords and spears for the one hand; the tawny shield, that he should fight with a two-handed sword.

† In Drayton's Epistles the following comparison is drawn between Brandon and the most accomplished cavaliers of the French court.

Alanson, a fine-timber'd man and tall,
Yet wants the shape thou art adora'd withal;

instigation, as was pretended, of Francis, he was encountered by some gigantic stranger, supposed to have been a German warrior: for a moment the issue of the combat was doubtful, and the Queen, by an involuntary emotion, betrayed her secret to Louisa, the intriguing mother of the Duke of Angouleme, who, naturally judging her character by her own depraved heart, advised her son to watch all her future movements. Brandon triumphed; but it was only to exchange with his royal mistress a brief farewell, and return to England encumbered with debt, and with forlorn hopes of redeeming the obligation.

The sufferings of Louis were probably abridged by the tournament; he, at least, lingered but till the ensuing February, when he breathed his last. Mary was once more free; but many princes might aspire to her hand, and Brandon's cause seemed desperate, since he could not woo, nor even approach his mistress, without risking his favour with a jealous sovereign. Fortunately this jealousy became his advocate; believing that Francis would seek to inveigle his sister into a French marriage, Henry wrote to caution her against a clandestine connection; and to give more weight to his admonition, transmitted it by the Duke of Suffolk.

Vendome's good carriage and a pleasing eye,
Yet hath not Suffolk's pleasing majesty;
Courageous Bourbon, a sweet manly face,
But yet he wants my Brandon's courtly grace;
Proud Longavile, our court judged hath no peer,
A man scarce made was thought, whilst thou wert here;
Countie Saint Paul, a peerless man in France,
Would yield himself a squire to bear thy lance:
Galles and Bonnearme, matchless for their might,
Under thy tow'ring blade have couch'd in fight.

In the mean time Mary had written to remind her brother of his former promise to allow her to reside in England, indirectly claiming some recompense for her late obedience.* She protested against a foreign alliance, declaring, that rather than marry a second time any other than the object of her choice, she would retire to a monastery and renounce the world for ever. But this declaration was softened by another, in which, with the most touching expressions of sisterly regard, she added, "I think every day a thousand, till I shall again behold you, and know not in the world any so great comfort." It sometimes happens that honest simplicity baffles craft and cunning, and that a generous impulse of the heart removes obstacles which might have long resisted the efforts of elaborate policy. In an interview with the King of France, who had hoped to match her with the Duke of Ferrara, Mary frankly avowed the state of her affections; and, whether flattered by her confidence, or touched by her candour, he entered into her feelings, and cordially offered his mediation with the King of England. Reassured by his friendship, the Queen wrote to her brother, confessing or at least hinting her love, and imploring his consent to her happiness.† Henry's answer was neither prompt nor decisive; and it appeared but too probable that her hopes might again be sacrificed to the machinations of Wolsey and his ambitious sovereign.

* "I beseech your Grace (she writes) that you will keep all the promises you made when I took leave; for your Grace knows I married for *your* pleasure *this time*."

† "On Tuesday, late at night, the French king came to visit me, and after many fair words, demanded of me whether I had made any promise of marriage in any place; assuring me, upon the word and honour of a prince, that if I would explain, he would do for me to the best of his power."—See Original Letters.

According to etiquette, a queen-dowager of France was expected to consume two livelong months in a chamber hung with black, debarred from all customary recreations and amusements, and surrounded but by objects the most solemn and lugubrious. In admitting her lover's visits, Mary certainly infringed this rigid rule of widowhood; but her resistance was fortified by the suggestion of Francis, who strongly urged the necessity of her taking a decisive step to insure her future tranquillity: emboldened by these counsels, she no longer hesitated to obey the dictates of her own heart; and, under his auspices, was privately united to Charles Brandon five months after she had left England, a magnificent but unwilling bride. In these second nuptials, a striking contrast was presented to the proud but heartless pageantry of her former marriage. The ceremony was performed with the utmost privacy and simplicity in the Abbey of Clugny. Mary looked for no homage; she was greeted with no acclamations; but she listened to the promises of hope; she indulged anticipations of felicity; she had no longer to complain of the too ponderous crown, received without joy and resigned without regret. But, in renouncing the vanities of her sex, she had obtained no exemption from its fears; and however encouraged by Francis, or sanctioned by the example of her sister Margaret, who, since her husband's death, had condescended to espouse the Earl of Angus, she was unable to divest herself of ominous forebodings; and dreaded lest Henry should punish her temerity by inflicting some signal mark of displeasure on the object of her affection. To avert this calamity, she wrote again, frankly confessing her own delinquency, and exonerating Brandon: she admitted that she had been half the wooer, and that it had required all her influence to induce him to infringe his

duty; that she had protested she must be won in four days, or never seen again; that she had even refused to return to England, if he declined becoming her husband. In extenuation of her own conduct, she avowed her apprehension lest the King's privy council should oppose her unequal marriage; finally, she threw herself on his mercy, pathetically beseeching him to save her from unspeakable misery and desolation: "and now," she adds, "that your Grace knoweth both the offences of which I alone am the occasion, most humbly, and as your most foul sister, I request you to pardon our offences; and that it will please your Grace to write to me and the Duke of Suffolk some few gentle words, for that is the greatest comfort."

All the impetuosity of Henry's nature burst forth at this clandestine proceeding; but he could not forget that Suffolk had been his early friend; he could not refuse to listen to Francis, who, equally from policy and inclination, was become his sister's advocate. It may, however, be doubted whether that mediation would have prevailed, had it not been seconded by Wolsey's powerful interest, and by the consolatory reflection, that it was better his sister's dower should devolve on one of his own subjects than on a foreign prince, over whom he could claim no allegiance. Influenced by these considerations Henry graciously invited Mary and her husband to return to England, where their nuptials were again solemnized with suitable pomp and festivity.*

* In 1515. The May-game, described by Hall, this year, appears to have possessed unusual elegance. The King, and the two Queens, and their respective attendants, were met at Shooter's Hill by two hundred of the King's guard, all habited in green; one of whom, under the assumed name of Robin Hood, asked permission to show his archery: permission being granted, he whistled, and all his men at once discharged

It is worthy of remark that at the tournament which was expressly held in honour of his bride, the Duke of Suffolk exhibited an ingenious device, delicately alluding to the circumstance which had brought him within the pale of royalty. To the trappings of his horse, which were one half cloth of gold, and the other cloth of frieze, was appended the following motto :—

Cloth of gold, do not despise,
Tho' thou art match'd with cloth of frieze:
Cloth of frieze, be not too bold,
Tho' thou art match'd with cloth of gold.*

Thus happily terminated the trials of Mary; and, what is extraordinary, it does not appear she had ever cause to repent of her romantic attachment; and, amidst the blandishment of a court, of which to her last moments she continued to form the brightest ornament, she was still distinguished as the devoted wife and tender mother.

their arrows. Again, and again, the same feat was performed; when Robin Hood invited the royal party to come to the Green Wood and see how outlaws lived: consent was given, and then the horns blew, till they came to an arbour made of boughs, with a hall and a great inner chamber, strewed with flowers and sweet herbs, which the King much praised. Then said Robin Hood,—"Sir, outlaws' breakfast is venison, and therefore you must be content with such fare as we use." Then the King and court sat down, and were served with venison and wine, to their great contentation. On their return, they were met by two ladies, a chariot drawn by five horses, on each of which rode some allegorical female, and in the car appeared Flora and May, who saluted the King with goodly songs; and so brought him to Greenwich, in the sight of the people, to their great joy and solace.

* See Percy's Reliques, Sir William Temple's Miscellanies.

CHAPTER III.

LETTERS AND EMBASSIES OF SIR THOMAS BOLEYN. — THE FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD.

Queen Claude—Anne's Duties as Maid of Honour—Her Position—Education of young Nobles—Anne's Childhood—Rochford Hall—Anne's Character—Her Acquirements—Margaret of Alançon—Her Character—Anne's Advantages—French Embassy—A Banquet—Sir Thomas Boleyn's Mission—Wolsey's Ambition—His Munificence—His Schemes—Sir Thomas Boleyn—His Mission to France—His Letters to the King—Election of Charles V. as Emperor of Germany—Boleyn's Letter—Birth of the Duke of Orleans—Boleyn's Diligence—Condition of Henry and Francis—Visit of Charles V.—Henry's visit to Francis—The Field of the Cloth of Gold—Meeting of Henry and Francis—Henry's Dress—Amusements—Extravagance of the Nobles—The two Queens—The Belles of France—Ballads—Francis visits Henry—Anne Boleyn at the Masque—End of the Meeting at Guisnes.

THE departure of Mary from France altered not the destination of Anne Boleyn. By the mediation of her former mistress she was transferred to the wife of Francis, the virtuous Claude, whose court, formed on the model of that established by her mother, Anne of Brittany, was crowded with boys and girls, pages and maids of honour. It had been the pride of that princess to render her palace a seminary of instruction for the young female nobility; and, with a munificence worthy of her rank, she not only admitted, but invited to her protection, all who could authenticate their claims to honourable lineage. According to Brantome, three hundred girls were thus enrolled among her

pupils, and half that number included in her retainers and attendants, some of whom received no salary, but lived at the Queen's expense,* in apartments remote from those allotted to the other sex, with whom they were seldom permitted to associate.† It has been remarked, that she loved power, and affected state, and never went, even to chapel, unattended by the royal guards. In her female satellites she introduced pageantry of a more pleasing cast: wherever she moved, youth and beauty heralded her approach, and a succession of blooming girls filed through the spacious apartments, alternately to enliven the dull labours of tapestry, or to lend attraction to the noisy pleasures of the tournament.

The reputation of Claude, like that of her predecessor, was without blemish; chaste, pious, and superstitious, she required from her ladies correct principles and decorous manners. But this princess possessed neither her mother's beauty nor talents; and it was her fortune to be united to a man who requited her tenderness and obedience with neglect and contempt. Timid, gentle, and affectionate, she neither upbraided his infidelities nor resented his indifference. Ill health was added to her afflictions; and, whilst Francis was alternately engaged in war, in hunting, or in gallantry, Claude lived in seclusion from all public amusements, occupied with her children or absorbed in her devotions, and apparently rather enduring than enjoying existence. Under

* Brantome states that some of these young ladies received twenty-five livres per annum; and the salary being generally regulated by the age of the parties, children might sometimes be preferred on the principle of economy.

† See Brantome, one of whose near relations was educated under her auspices.

such a mistress, the maids of honour, if they had few pleasures, had also few temptations; and the French court, which in the latter period of this reign was destined to become the seat of voluptuous vice, appears to have been at that time the school of modesty and virtue. It may, perhaps, be asked, what services were required of Anne Boleyn, and how far her situation was calculated to promote her father's favourite object, that of forming in his daughter an elegant and accomplished woman? The maids of honour appear to have been always considered rather as ornamental than useful: neither serious charge, nor weighty responsibility was ever imposed on these fair ministers of royalty, whose business it was, like nymphs, to encircle their queen only to shed around her the ineffable charm of grace and beauty. Accustomed to attend on all public exhibitions of state and splendour, to dress with taste, to move with elegance, comprised their most important duties: their accomplishments, if any they possessed, were reserved for the recreation of her private hours, when, according to her humour, they were required to sing, dance, work, and pray; alternately associated in her labours and devotions. Finally, their conduct was closely inspected by an elderly *gouvernante*, whose duty it was to maintain amongst them strict order and decorum. In the absence of schools and other seminaries of instruction, an establishment such as this must have offered some equivocal advantages to childhood, and few attractions to youth: to the former it might supply habits of docility and application, of promptitude and self-possession, eminently useful in the intercourse of after life; nor was it a defect peculiar to the education received in a court, that it blasted, by a specious semblance of maturity, the artless simplicity of childhood. Amongst other vices inherent in the system of

manners derived from the feudal institutions, it was not the least, that it abridged what is usually esteemed the best and happiest season of human existence: the cheerfulness of infancy was soon clouded with care. At four years of age* the sons of the nobility commenced their studies; at six they were initiated into the Latin grammar; at twelve they were introduced into company; at fourteen they exhausted their strength in hunting; at sixteen they were exercised in jousting; and at eighteen, they were boldly ushered into public life. The education of girls was still more perniciously opposed to simplicity and nature; from the earliest period they appear to have been taught to imitate the manners, and even to adopt the dress, of grown women: at thirteen they were not only disfigured by the stiff costumes, but infected with the pride, the vanity, and folly of their elder associates. From the moment that they were allowed to assume their place at the tournament, they affected to dispense smiles and favours on real or pretended votaries; and whilst, glittering with gold and jewels, they began to expatiate on the reciprocal duties of the mistress and the servant, they learnt to envy the distinctions conferred by the bold successful champion, and to sigh for the sovereignty conceded to peerless beauty.

Of the elementary education of Anne Boleyn, little is known, and nothing detailed; but it is impossible not to suspect that it must have been calculated rather to foster pride and vanity, than to exercise the sympathies, or create the habits, of domestic life. From the cradle, she had been an object of peculiar attention; her beauty attracted notice; her quick parts, and graceful demeanour, called forth spontaneous admiration. It is traditionally

* See Hardinge's Chronicle; which, though written under Henry the Sixth, describes the customs prevalent in subsequent reigns.

recorded, that even her promising childhood gave some presage of greatness; and in this, as in other instances, the prediction might contribute to its own accomplishment. All her impressions, all the associations of her opening mind, were calculated to create or to cherish ambitious sentiments; dreams of splendour floated around her infant head; and whilst she was taught to lisp the illustrious pedigree of the Howards, she learnt also to contemplate, with reverence, the portraits of her father's maternal ancestors, and to unravel the complicated genealogies of the Botelers or Butlers, and Ormonds, many of whom had consecrated, on the scaffold, their fidelity to the house of Lancaster; nor could it be to her a matter of indifference, that the very roof under which she first saw the light had been tenanted by more than one royal personage. The manor of Rochford was originally conveyed by Henry the Second to a Norman knight, who assumed with it the title of Baron Rochford. Under Edward the Third, this family becoming extinct, the lordship of Rochford, with its stately mansion, was transferred to William Bohun, Earl of Northampton, from whose descendants it passed by marriage to Thomas of Woodstock, and, from want of male heirs, reverted to the crown. A royal grant conferred it on Boteler, Earl of Ormond, afterwards created Earl of Wiltshire; but this nobleman was the victim of his devotion to the Red Rose, and Rochford Hall, once more bereaved of its lord, came into the possession of an illustrious lady, Anne, Duchess of Exeter, who received it from her brother, Edward the Fourth. By this bigoted princess it was bestowed on the church; but, during that tempestuous period, even the church held its possessions by a precarious tenure; and Rochford Hall was granted to Earl Rivers, the father of the celebrated Elizabeth Woodville,

whom Edward raised to the throne. It would be fanciful to suggest that this passage in the traditionary chronicle* of Rochford Hall might have operated powerfully on Anne Boleyn's future character. It is, however, certain, that the romantic fortunes of the widowed beauty must have been associated with her earliest recollections; and there is a remarkable coincidence in the answer which each heroine gave to the solicitations of her royal suitor,—"I am too good for your mistress, and not worthy to become your Queen." Another circumstance, trivial in itself, might inflame an aspiring temper. Anne recalled, with her name, that of a princess, the daughter of the chaste Elizabeth, who had actually espoused her mother's brother, the high-spirited Lord Thomas Howard. With whatever avidity she might listen to these nursery tales of hereditary honour, she was rather stimulated than discouraged by her aspiring parents, with whom pride and ambition must have completely prevailed over nature and tenderness, since they parted without reluctance from this engaging child, whose happiness and improvement they surrendered to the care of strangers.

From the moment that she entered Mary's suite, Anne was devoted to a life of honourable servitude—an irksome, though splendid captivity, in which it probably became her pastime, or her solace, to enact, in fancy, the part of a royal bride, and anticipate the raptures that awaited an idolized Queen. In her personal qualities she had a passport to affection;—frank, sprightly, and graceful, she constantly delighted her teachers, and surpassed her competitors. Her literary acquirements were not remarkable; but it may be presumed that, in common with the prin-

* Morant's Essex.

cesses of France and England,* she had made some proficiency in the Latin language; she excelled in music, singing, dancing, and all those lighter accomplishments suited to her sex and station. Female cultivation was not in vogue, till the example of Sir Thomas More determined Henry the Eighth to imbue his daughters with solid learning; and as, with Sir Thomas Boleyn, it was the first object of solicitude to see his children brilliant and attractive, he eagerly embraced the opportunity of giving Anne those more elegant accomplishments which were then almost exclusively to be acquired in France. She was, however, doomed to consume a large portion of her time in the monotonous occupation of the needle, and, with other patient victims, to pore over the mazes of interminable tapestry. The sombre aspect of Claude's court might, perhaps, have checked her native buoyancy of spirits, but for the genial influence diffused by Margaret the Duchess of Alançon.† This princess, the beloved sister of Francis the First, was learned and ingenious; inheriting her mother's talents without her vices, and participating in all her brother's finer qualities, unalloyed by their opposing follies: mild and magnanimous, with courage for every trial, and

* Dr. Thomas Linacre, the first president of the College of Physicians, instituted by Henry the Eighth, was preceptor to Mary Queen of France, and composed a grammar for her use.

† Afterwards Queen of Navarre. She composed a volume of poems called *La Marguerite des Marguerites*, comprising hymns, spiritual songs, and sprightly colloquies in verse, called comedies, and which in some degree approximate to the *dramatiques proverbes*, so popular in French and Spanish literature. She produced also *Les Cent Nouvelles*, a work which appears to have been highly esteemed by her contemporaries.—Most of these tales are said to have been composed in her travelling litter, to beguile the irksomeness of a fatiguing journey.

resources for every emergency, she devoted her leisure to letters and the arts, and was alternately a lover and a votary of the muses. Delighting in the pleasures of conversation, she drew to her circle men of wit and learning, and found in the collision of kindred minds an intellectual gratification far superior to the contemplation of broken lances and prancing steeds, or the mummery of masques and pantomimes. From her taste for liberal discussion, and the independence of her opinions, she incurred the charge of being well affected to the Lutheran controversy; but these first prepossessions, if they ever existed, were probably counteracted by the influence of Francis, who had sufficient penetration to discover the intimate connection between civil and religious liberty; nor is it improbable that Margaret was herself too much of a latitudinarian, to enter with ardour into the controversies of novel sects or erratic sectaries.* It is generally allowed, that she never quitted the pale of the Catholic church, although she neither dissembled her conviction of its errors, nor disguised her contempt for its corruptions. In reality, Margaret was a *femme d'esprit*, better fitted to appreciate a *bon mot* than to discuss a theological dogma. To the last hour of her life she continued to inveigh against the pope, and to attend high mass,—to laugh at penances and absolution, yet admit a confessor, and occasionally fast like a rigid devotee. From such inconsistency the strongest mind is not exempted, when to the power of reason is opposed the influence of habit and sympathy, and all those nameless feelings and associations created in infancy, which form so large a share in the sum of

* Francis deprecated the new sects, as hostile to existing governments. "My sister," said he, "loves me too well, not to be of that religion which is most useful to the state."

every human character. But whatever might be Margaret's religious opinions, she was unquestionably the patroness of scholars, letters, and the arts; the friend of poets, scholars, and philosophers. . Nor can it be doubted that Anne Boleyn derived incalculable advantage from her early intercourse with one of the most brilliant women of the age; but her attachment to the Reformation, so often attributed to this princess, had probably a different source, and was not inspired till a much later period.

During the eight years that Anne Boleyn resided in France, she appears to have had several opportunities of seeing her father, whose official duties conducted him to Paris. It is well known that an embassy was not then intrusted to any single individual, however eminent or approved; but composed of several distinguished men, whose numerous retinue displayed all the pomp of royal magnificence. In 1518, Francis sent to Henry the Bishop of Paris and Admiral Bennivet, accompanied by fourscore noblemen, whose suite, amounting to the enormous number of twelve hundred persons, excited in the populace surprise, not unmixed with displeasure; from the court, however, they experienced a most gracious reception. The Earl of Surrey, at the head of the English nobility, met their party on Blackheath,* when every English gentleman gave his arm to a French cavalier; and in this amicable manner they walked two-and-two till they reached London; where the admiral was lodged in Merchant-tailors' Hall, and his attendants hospitably entertained by the principal citizens. The ostensible pretext of this embassy was a contract of marriage between two children still in the cradle,—the Dauphin, or, as he was called, the *Dolphin*, of France, and Mary, Princess of England: its real object was the restitution of Tournay to France,

* Hall.

which its monarch hoped to obtain by flattering Henry, and bribing Wolsey; but all political objects, whether real or fictitious, appear to have been absorbed in two splendid entertainments successively given by the Cardinal and the King to their foreign guests; and it is worthy of remark, that the first was an evening party, approaching, in elegance and refinement, to the style of modern manners; whilst the latter was marked by a mixture of pedantry, epicurism, and gorgeous mummery, which by prescriptive right still maintained their place at court, in defiance of the King's better taste.*

* It commenced in the morning, with an oration from Dr. Tunstall, and ended at midnight with a banquet. After a sumptuous dinner, which might have required Ajax-like powers of digestion, the ambassadors were conducted to Whitehall, where stood a rock crowned at the summit with five emblematical trees; of which the first, an olive, bore the shield of Papal Rome; the second, a pine-apple, designated Austria; the third, a rose-bush, was the symbol of England; on the fourth, a branch of lilies, were suspended the arms of France; the fifth, a pomegranate, supported those of Spain. By this pageant was verified the mystic union supposed to be formed against the Turks, the common enemies of Christendom. In compliment to the espousals, a lady was exhibited on the rock, supporting in her lap a *dolphin*, a troop of knights and ladies issued from a cavern, and to a tournay succeeded a masque and dancing. For the accommodation of the foreign guests, an extra personage was judiciously introduced, who, in the vague character of *Report*, very obligingly explained in French, the meaning (if any there were) of this puerile pastime. After this a banquet was served, at which stood a cupboard of twelve stages, consisting of two hundred and sixty dishes.

The scene of the Cardinal's entertainment was York House. After a solemn banquet, at which the ladies and gentleman were placed in alternation, the company were saluted by minstrels, with whom commenced the masquerades: other visitors followed in disguise, by whom cards and

Henry piqued himself too much on the punctilios of courtesy, not to offer a suitable return for the complaisance of Francis. Early in 1519, an embassy proceeded to France, of which the Bishop of Ely and the Earl of Worcester were the ostensible chiefs, but in which Sir Thomas Boleyn was destined to be the efficient personage. They were received with singular respect; and that nothing might be wanting to their satisfaction, a banqueting-house was constructed within the walls of the Bastile, where night after night was spent in music and dancing, feasting and revelry. Sir Thomas Boleyn had afterwards to take a journey into Champagne, for the express purpose of seeing the infant dauphin, of whose health and comeliness he transmitted a most favourable report. On his return to Paris, affairs of more importance engrossed his attention: he had in reality to perform a complicated task, since he was not only the King's ambassador, but the agent of his minister, the emissary and confidant of Wolsey.

To explain this circumstance, it is necessary to revert to the two contingencies which in that age excited the strongest interest in Europe,—the nomination of a pope, and the election of an em-

dice were introduced: and after a game of mumchance, the minstrels struck up, and in came twelve gentlemen disguised, with as many ladies: the first was the King himself, leading the French Queen; the second, the Duke of Suffolk and Lady Daubeny, the Lord Admiral Howard and Lady Guilford, Sir Francis Bryan and Lady Elizabeth Blount; after them twelve knights disguised bearing torches. All these thirty-six persons were dressed in green, and danced together. The ladies wore tires made of braids of damask gold, with long hairs of white gold. All these masquers danced at one time: at length their vizors were discarded; and the ambassadors recognising the King, returned him hearty thanks for his courtesy.

peror. One of these critical moments was now eagerly anticipated from the approaching dissolution of Maximilian. Among the candidates for the imperial crown, Francis and Charles of Castile were the most prominent personages. Nor was it possible that Henry should remain a passive spectator of the contest: his first impulse had been to grasp the envied diadem to himself; the next to secure it to his nephew Charles; but Wolsey, for whom Francis had lately procured a cardinal's hat, suspended his purpose, until he should have ascertained which of the two competitors would be the most competent to secure his own elevation to the papal chair—that dignity which was henceforth to be the ultimate object of all his political intrigues and versatile speculation. Could Wolsey have recalled the waking dreams of [redacted] humble youth, he might have recoiled with momentary ter[redacted] from the gigantic phantom which now filled his imaginatio[redacted] A few years since to have possessed an episcopal see might have contented his utmost wishes: he had now three bishoprics, exclusive of the archiepiscopal see of York; the Great Seal of England was committed to his hands; and by the Pope's authority, he had lately assumed the control of a legatine court, which invested him with absolute supremacy in cases of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; yet Wolsey was not satisfied; for there still remained in St. Peter's chair a pinnacle of solitary pre-eminence that could alone appease his restless ambition; and he panted for the moment when he should no longer be the favourite but the ruler of kings, and the sacred arbiter of Europe. In cherishing these dreams of grandeur, it is but just to acknowledge that he imbibed a spirit of princely munificence. In some degree his vices were emblazoned by his genius; and, like another Leo, he drew to his palace men of kindred talents; patronized the useful and

ornamental arts; encouraged and protected scholars and authors; founded schools and colleges; and in part atoned for his ostentation and arrogance by acts of liberality and beneficence.* Tho *regeneration* of the Catholic church was one of Wolsey's great projects; and with the zeal of a reformer, he instituted a rigid inquisition respecting monasteries, discouraged the monastic life, and unintentionally furnished a precedent for the future suppression of religious orders. Above all, in disseminating instruction for youth, this self-created pope accelerated the progress of that reformation, which he most deprecated, and most desired to suppress.

With what precise views Wolsey persisted in seeking the papacy, it is now useless to inquire, and futile to conjecture. Among other schemes, he is said to have entertained the idea of combining, in a confederacy against the Turks, all the powers of Christendom, and perhaps redeeming the city of Constantine from Mahometan thraldom. For the present, it was sufficient that he desired to render himself independent of a young capricious prince, whose favour could alone be kept, as won, by submission and adulation.

Amongst the confidential agents, to whom his interests were intrusted, it may seem strange, that he should have selected Sir Thomas Boleyn, the son-in-law of the Duke of Norfolk, who

* Eramus mentions, with praise, the scholars and divines domesticated at his table; his chaplains were all learned men. Wolsey founded several colleges and schools, and suppressed, at his first visitation, many religious houses. Amongst other useful societies, of which he was the founder or the protector, the College of Physicians was, by his influence embodied under Henry the Eighth.

had been among the first to rebuke his arrogance, and was not the last to experience his resentment.

At the commencement of his career, Sir Thomas Boleyn had aspired but to be a courtier: to this character he now added that of a statesman; and it required no extraordinary effort of sagacity to discover, that the King's favourite was greater than the first peer in England, and that, should the house of Howard stand or fall, no better friend could be found than the oracle of his sovereign. It is, however, but just to remark, that, in becoming Wolsey's agent, he was neither his minion nor his sycophant, and that in political transactions, he extorted esteem by his honourable punctuality; opposing discretion to craft; to vacillation, firmness; and to treachery, fidelity. Without shining parts, he maintained his ground against eminent men; and without literary talents, acquired the reputation of a scholar, and the respect due to a patron of letters. More cautious than enterprising, he appears to have been considered as the safety-valve of every treaty or negotiation in which he assumed a part, and, as prudence prompted the suggestions, success commonly crowned the efforts, of Sir Thomas Boleyn.* In the embassy to France (in 1519) he was chosen by Henry to adjust with Francis the ceremonial of his intended interview with that prince, in Picardy, and authorized to amuse him with fair professions respecting the imperial election. At the same time, he was commissioned by Wolsey to ascertain the intentions and abilities of the French monarch, in recommending a candidate to the papal see. The difference of these objects is distinctly traced in a regular correspondence which the ambassador con-

* See Loyd's Worthies. But the character is exaggerated.—Sir Thomas Boleyn is also celebrated by Erasmus.

tinued with Henry and Wolsey; and in which, some few subjects of national interest, such as the indemnity of English merchants, or the security of the English flag, are occasionally introduced, in such a manner as plainly shows they were considered of minor importance.

The two following letters, written by Sir Thomas Boleyn, on the same day, to the King and the Cardinal, coincide in exemplifying the elegant gallantry of Francis, and in describing the mixture of rudeness and magnificence that characterized his court:—

PARIS, March 14, 1519.*

"To the King.†

"Pleasyth it yor highnesse to understand that yesterday I delivered yor letter to the king here, wh as harty and effectuous recomendacions from your grace as I could devise;-and after he had at length and wh good playsure read over yor said letter, I declared to him, for my credence, according to the instruccions which yor grace late sent me, first the effect of yor sd letter. And after I shewed him how great desire yor grace hath for the increase of his honor, and what pleasure and consolation yor highnesse taketh in the same, considering the unfeyned amity and alliance that is established betwixt you both, which yor grace believeth to be so rooted in yor hearts, that what high honour or advancement shall fortune to come to him, the fruit thereof shuld redonde to yor highnesse; wherefor to advannce him to the preferment of this imperial dignitie, yor grace, upon knowledge of his further intent and mind, shal be glad to employe yrself,

* Cotton MSS. Caligula, D. VII. 48.

† In these letters, the more uncouth peculiarities of the old orthography are corrected.

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as well by word and writing, as by acts and deeds, to the best of your power, whereupon he may assuredly trust; whereunto he, taking off his bonett, thanked heartily yo^{r} highnesse, and sayd that the great love and favor which he well perceiveth that yo^{r} grace bearyth towardes him is the greatest comfort that he hath upon earth, and for the great hono^{r} that yo^{r} grace sheweth to him in advancing him to the imperiall dignitie, which is his most desire, he saith he knoweth not how nor by what meanes he may recompence yo^{r} highnesse in doing any thing so moch for yo^{r} grace, but he sayeth, as long as he liveth, in any thing that he may doo that shal be to yo^{r} pleasure, he shall always be as ready and as glad to do it as he would be to do for himself, and desireth no thing more than to have knowledge wherein he might employe himself to do yo^{r} highnesse some pleasure. Rehearsing to me that by the reason of the perfecte love and aliaunce betwixt you both, he reckoneth yo^{r} highnesse to be of great might and power, saying that what with yo^{r} owne puissance and with his help, which he saith yo^{r} grace shall alwayes have ready at yo^{r} commandment, there is neither honno^{r}, dignitie, nor other thing in Chrystendome, but that yo^{r} highnesse shall attain and order it at yo^{r} own pleasure, and told me that he could not expresse to meet with his tongue the due thanks that he giveth y^{r} g^{ce} in his heart, for the loving kindnesse that he found in yo^{r} highnesse, and sayd that when ye both mete, which he trusts shall be shortly, your grace shall knowe his hart, no man lyving better; whereunto I sayd that yo^{r} highnesse thanked him specially, causid that amongs all his other things and great affaires, he is so much desirous to meet, visit and see yo^{r} grace, and told him of your conformable mind thereunto, shewing to him the time, place, and manner as is at length expressed in the

instructions that I ha .... whereunto he said that he is determined to see yo^r grace, though he should come but himself, his page, and his lacquey, and that no business shall lette it: how be it, for the time, place, and order of the meeting, he said he would commune w^t the great master, and w^in ij or iij dayes he wold send him to Paris, where he should make me answer of every article concerning the said entreview and meeting; and because that the quene here hath been very sicke thies ij dayes, and in great daunger; as I have more at large written of the same to my Lord Legat and Cardinall of England, which I know sure woll shewe yo^r grace thereof. I can as yet have no answer what order shal be taken for the marchaunts matiers. Beseching the Holy Trinity long to preserve yo^r highnesse. From Paris this xiiij^th day of March."

PARIS, March 14, 1519.*

"Pleaseth it yo^r grace to understand, that the xith day of this month I wrot to your grace my last letters, and the same day at afternoon the queen head and my lady† took thier journey and went in horse-litters from hence to have gone towardes Saint Germayn, vi leagues out of this towne, where is prepaired for her to be in chylde bedde; but the same afternoon by the way the queen was so troubled with sickness, that she was fain to take her lodging at a very small village, ii leagues out of this towne, which is called La Porte de Neilly; and that night she was in great danger, insomuch as word came to this towne the next morning that she was dead, and soon after the bruit ran through all this town, that she was delivered of a son, but

* Cotton MS. Caligula, D. VII. 47.

† Louisa, Duchess of Angouleme, the mother of Francis.

neither is true: this caused me that I went not to the court on Saturday, as I was appointed, w^t the great master; but yesterday, the king knowing that I had letters to him, sent for me to come to him thither, where I saw the king's lodging, and the quene's, and my lady, the king's mother, and the Duchesse of Alaunsons, and the great masters at the village above said, God knoweth, full poorly lodged, but that it is well dressed with good stuffs. The great master hath no chimney in his chamber, but there is a great oven, and this order is taken for the quene, that if she may have health to be conveyed by water from this village to Saint Germayn, she shall be had thither, and close barges with chambers made in them be ordained for that purpose: if not, by force she must remayn and be delyvered there; as she shall do, I shall send yo^r grace word.

"And whan I came to La Porte de Neilly, where at my coming the king was at dinner, and the great master had dined, the great master took me by the arm, and led me in to a little low house, where the king dyned, and as soon as he rose from dinner he came to me, and bad me to come w^th him, into his bedchamber, for a lowe there was too many folks. So I went to his chamber, with him, the great master, and Robert, and no more, where I delivered the king's letters, and had answers of the same, as by a letter that I this tyme adressyd to the king's highnesse your grace may perceive. That doon, I delivered to him a letter from y^r grace, with humble recomendacions as I could devise, and told him half, that next vnto the king's highnesse yo^r grace would always do vnto him above all other princes the honourable service and pleasure that may lie in your power, and as much ye shall tender his exaltation, weale, and suretie, as any other shall do, as by experience he shall right well perceive.

"Whereto he answered me, that he knew by experience the good-will and favour that yo^r grace beareth to him in his affaires, and said that yo^r grace was the first that ever he counselled with for this aliaunce, which by yo^r great wisdome and policy, hath taken so great travaill and pain for him that it is to his great honnor and comfort, and the weal of him and all his subjects. And he beseeching yo^r grace that ye will let for no pains but as ye have begun that it woul please you so to continue, and on his behalf, he saith your grace shall not find him towardes you ingrate nor forgetful, and sayeth that in recompence of that ye have done for him, and trusteth will do for him, and for the singular love and favour which he beareth to you, considering that ye be a man of the church and one of the greatest and most principal, he saith, he thinketh, it is in the king's highnesse and in him to do you most good, which he promiseth by the word of a king to do for yo^r grace, if it please you to accept it; and thus he hath desired me to write to you, that if it please you to pretend to be the head of the church, if in case any thing shuld fall of the pope, he sayeth, he will assure you first xiiij cardinalls for him; also, of the compaynes which be in devision, the Colonnas and the Ursinas at Rome, he will assure you the whole company of the Ursinas; he reckoneth also a great help of one he calleth a valiant man, and of great reputacion there, Marcautyn de Colompna; and finally assuredly reckons that now the king's highnesse and he be all one, that there shall neither emperor nor pope be made, but such as pleaseth them: he also told me, that this offer that he maketh yo^r grace proceedeth of perfect love and inward trust that he hath in the king's highnesse; he sayeth, if he had not more trust and confidence in him than in any other prince living, he wold be loth that any other

man shuld be pope: this, with more, whereof this is the sum, he told me, how he is minded to do for your grace. If your grace accept not this offer, I think he will do his best for some of his own cardinalls, if any such chance fall. After this, that I had been more than an hour with the king, alone, came unto him the ambassador of Denmark, who, after he had been awhile w^t^ the king, a servant of his was called to be trushman* betwixt them, and then was called in the Duke of Albanye.† What the matter is, I know not, but the Duke of Albanye is made privy to it. At what tyme the great master toold me that the Duke of Albanye shuld be at the meting of the king's highnesse and the king here; and also an ambassado^r^ out of Scotland, where he saied he trusted some good conclusion shuld be taken for the Duke of Albanye; also the great master told me, that the king his master and he devised of yo^r^ grace, rehersing in effecte the substance, how he is minded to do for yo^r^ grace, as I have written afore; also the great master told me, that if the sicknesse of the queen here had not been, he shuld have taken his journey as to-morow to Montpelier ward, and bad me write, assuredly that there shall no thing be there treated nor concluded but yo^r^ grace shall be advertysed of y^t^; he hath also desired of me the copy of the bill‡ of the nombre of such persones as shall come w^t^ the king's highnesse to the meting, which I have delivered to him; he hath also promised me, that I shall have answer w^t^in thies iii dayes, of every article touching the meting, and entreview, and also the order of redresse of the merchaunts,

* Interpreter.

† The Duke of Albany was fomenting troubles in Scotland.

‡ A list of the English persons to be present at the interview between Henry and Francis in Picardy.

which, as soone as I can have, I shall send to yo^r grace w^t all diligence; beseching the Holy Trynyte, long to preserve yo^r gce. From Parys, this xiiijth day of March.

Youres most bound."*

"To myn most especiall and singular good lord, my Lord Legat, Cardinall, and Chaunceler of England."

The contest for the crown of Cæsar having terminated, Sir Thomas Boleyn hastily announces the election of Charles the Fifth, not without noticing the wayward attempts of the Duchess Louisa to disguise her chagrin and disappointment.

"Pleasith y^t youre grace to understand, that the first day of this month I wrote my last letters to your grace, and as yet the king is not ret'rned from Melun, where he hath been almost this fortnight a hunting. But hither is come letters w^t great diligence to the king catholiques ambassadour from Frankfort, and from my lady of Savoye,† specifying how the king her master the xxviij day of the last month, at x of the clocke afore noon, by the assent and voices of all the electours, was chosen empero^r, and because there is yet no letters come out of Almayn to the king nor my lady here of this matter, my lady marvelleth much, and sayth she feareth that Mons. L'Admirall‡ is letted or evill intreatyd, because she hath no word from him, or else their post

* From the tenor of the foregoing letters, it should seem that Sir Thomas Boleyn had no suspicion of the duplicity which Henry practised on this occasion; but it is notorious, that Dr. Pace, another confidential agent, had been despatched to Germany, with positive orders to promote the interest of Charles the Fifth.

† Margaret, Governess of the Netherlands.

‡ Bonivet.

w^t letters is taken or stopped by the way. Neverthelesse my lady sayth if this be true saying, the king her sonne may nat be empero^r, she is right glad that the king catholique is chosen; saying that though the king her sonne is *not* empero^r, yet it is a comfort to her that the king her *sonnes son* in law is empero^r.* How be it the truth is, that both the king and my lady, and all this court, had rather any other had been chosen empero^r than the king catholique. My lady telleth me that she is assured it hath cost him a great good to atteyn to this empire, insomuch she sayth she knoweth for a truth, one of the electours hath had of him ii hundreth thousand crownes, and naming him of Cologne. She sayth also that the electours amongst them all hath not had of the king here."†——

The birth of Henry, Duke of Orleans,‡ furnished a different subject of correspondence; and, as might be expected, Sir Thomas Boleyn minutely details the ceremony of his christening, which was performed at midnight, Henry being himself one of the sponsors. On this occasion, the ambassador presented to the French Queen the *salt-spoon, the cup, and layer of gold*, which were graciously received; "and the King came, and thanked the King's Highnesse of the great honor that he had done him; saying, that whenever it shall fortune his Highnesse to have a child, he shall be glad to do for him in like manner."§ In con-

* At that time Charles was contracted to the second daughter of Francis, Louisa, who died before the age of nine years.

† The duchess was mistaken in this calculation: it was, in reality, Francis, and not Charles, who had expended large sums in bribing the electors.

‡ Afterwards Henry the Second.

§ The ambassador then details in what manner he had distributed

cluding his letter, Sir Thomas Boleyn observes with characteristic caution, "There is much speaking in the country, and more at Paris, of many strange bruits, whereof this bearer can show your Grace by mouth."

the hundred pounds intrusted to his discretion. "And the hundreth pounds that your grace sent to reward is bestowed as followeth; first, the nurse one hundred crownes; to iiij rockers of the yong duke's chamber ij hundreth crownes; to iij gentillwomen of the quene's privy chamber, called Femes de Re, a hundreth and fyfty crownes; and at the offering xx nobles, which amounteth in all to the some of one hundreth pounds sterling, and xv crownes over, all which money was paid and delyvered by the hands of York, ... bearer, and Richmont, which can shewe your grace well enough thereof.

"Furthermore, as this bearer can shewe your grace, have been with me at my lodging, the king's officers at arms which with importune . . . . . asked reward, saying, that the Duke of Urbino at the christening of the Dolphin, rewarded them, and with the best answer that I could make them, nothing apaised, they went away discontent; nevertheless I hear by honourable folks here, that the gift to the queen, and the money that is given in reward, is sufficiently honorably and largely enough for the king's honr.

"I have also laid out xl. xijs. in sending divers times min own folks, and other, that I have hired, to your grace into England, and to Calais, with letters in post and otherwise, the which xl. xijs. and xv crownes that I have layd out now, more than the hundreth peundes that your grace sent me by York, to give in reward, is owing me, and for as moch as the last money that your grace sent me for a hundreth dayes ended the xxvth day of May, last, I beseech you both to send me such diet money, as shall best please your grace, and that the said xl. xijs and xv crownes that is owing me may be also delivered to my priest, which shall attend upon your grace for it.

"Also, I receyved yestereven from your grace a letter dated the xxvijth day of May concernyng the marchants matters, and divers

Although these diplomatic records afford not any interesting information, respecting the state of Sir Thomas Boleyn's family, they furnish ample proofs of the diligence and punctuality with which he discharged his official duties, and almost lead us to regret that he should have been an obsequious courtier.

It is no small source of amusement to a reflective mind to compare characters and events, of which time and experience have taught us to form a correct judgment, with the opinions once entertained of their relative value and importance. In the year 1520, no crisis was anticipated by the Pope, or the clergy, although Luther had already launched the bolt, with whose reverberation the powers of the Vatican were soon to tremble. On the eve of the most astonishing revolution ever achieved by human agency, no alarm appears to have been experienced; neither statesmen nor cavaliers had leisure for the controversy between Luther and Tetzlar, whilst all Europe looked to the coalition of Henry and Francis, as the prelude of some political drama, in which each of these great princes was to enact an important part. Endless were the questions and consultations, and voluminous the instructions preliminary to this celebrated event. Amidst a negotiation frivolous and elaborate as the process of a Provençal court of love, one trait of political gallantry deserves notice:—Aware of Henry's predilection for the age of Edward the Third, the King of France submitted to him, whether he should not, in imitation of the Black Prince, have his *dinner*

other things, whereof after I have spoken w^t^ the king, my lady, or the counsell here, I shall wryte to your grace such aunswer as I shall have of them w^t^ diligence.

"To myn most especiall and singular good lord, my Lord Legat, Cardinall, and Chauncellor of England."

*served and carved on horseback.** Although this proposition was negatived, in every other instance the ordonnances of chivalry were to be religiously observed; and it was especially stipulated, that, in the ensuing joust, the number of strokes given on either side should be referred to *the ladies!* Finally, after a longer interval than had been spent by the Edwards and Henrys of former days, in acquiring the fairest provinces of France, the plain of Guisnes was chosen for the interview.† At this critical moment the young Emperor, in his passage to Flanders, approached the English coast, when, under pretence of paying his respects to his aunt Catherine, he threw himself on Henry's generosity, and voluntarily came to his court without a single precaution for safety and protection. Charmed with this proof of confidence, Henry was easily persuaded to pledge his friendship to the avowed rival of that prince, whom he was about to visit as an ally and a brother. From Catherine Charles received not only a cordial, but a tender welcome, whilst the ladies of her court lavished on him smiles and blandishments; but at the sight of Mary,‡ the beautiful French Queen, to whom he had once been contracted, he was observed to sigh and to betray unwonted sadness; and to this sentiment was attributed his refusal to dance, and an obvious indifference to all those gayeties which were usually found so attractive. In the sequel,

* Herbert.

† In Picardy.

‡ "Peradventure the sight of the Lady Mary troubled him, whom he had sometime loved." Hall.—Many romantic tales were fabricated of his imaginary attachment: the princess herself was pretended to have avowed a passion for this prince, whom she had never seen, and who was then a boy of thirteen, when she looked at his portrait three times every day.

it appeared that Wolsey's favour was the prize he hoped to win, and Henry's vanity the mistress he sought to captivate; and with such address was each flattered in his master-passion, that, at parting, he obtained a solemn promise, that a return should be made to his visit in Flanders before the royal party came back to England. Within a few days after Charles had re-embarked, Henry was wafted to the coast of France, accompanied by his Queen, his sister Mary, her husband, and the most distinguished English nobility. At some little distance from the town of Guisnes, a temporary palace was prepared for Henry's reception, which the combined powers of English and Flemish mechanism had rendered rare and beautiful as the marvellous house constructed for Aladdin by his obedient genii. It is not improbable, that the plan of this curious edifice was suggested by one of these magnificent descriptions so common in tales of chivalry, which formed the popular reading of the day. According to Hall,* it might have been called the Palace of

* "At the entering into the palace, before the gate on the plain was builded a fountain of embowed work, gilt with fine gold, and bice ingrailed with *antike* work; the old god of wine called Bacchus, birling the wine, which by the conduits in the earth, ran to all people plenteously with red, white, and claret wine, over whose head was written in letters of Roman, in gold, '*faite bonne chère qui vouldra.*' On the other hand or side of the gate, was set a pillar, which was of ancient Roman work, borne with four lions of gold. The pillars wrapped in a wreath of gold, curiously wrought, and introiled, and on the summit of the said pillar stood an image of the blind god Cupid, with his bow and arrows of love, ready by his seeming, to strike the young people to love. The foregate of the same palace or place with great and mighty masonry was arched, with a tower on every side of the same part reared by great craft; and embattled was the gate and tower, and in the fenestres and

Illusion; but, abstracted from fancy and flattery, it appears to have been formed of moveable planks of timber, and covered with canvass so well painted as to resemble stone. Within, it was hung with arras and tapestry, the most rich and tasteful that the looms of Ghent and Antwerp could supply: but after all these efforts of ingenuity, it was found totally inadequate to the occasion; since 2500 of the King's suite had no better resource than to lodge in tents, of which the inside was hung with white cloth, richly-embroidered and surmounted by the union rose, interlaced with the fleur-de-lys. The spot selected for this encampment, was about half a league beyond the town of Guisnes, and about the same distance from the town of Ardres, in whose castle lodged Francis and his gallant court. Whilst Henry and his retinue, like crusaders, remained in their splendid pavilions, necessity must have led to a different distribution of the quadrupeds in his train, of which the horses alone amounted to the enormous number of 4326. To these, according to previous stipulation, an equal number was opposed by the French party: thus the cordial meeting, which was to form an eternal union of friendship, resembled the clashing of two hostile armies, and seemed rather calculated to create impressions of distrust and jealousy, than to suggest images of peace and amity, hospitality and con-

windows were images resembling men of war, ready to cast great stones. Also the same gate, or tower, was set with compassed images of ancient princes, as Hercules, Alexander, and others.

"By the same gate all people passed into a large court, fair and beautiful; for in this court appeared much of the outward beauty of the place. Far from the first cleare table were baie windows (i. e. green lattices) on every side mixed with stories, curiously glazed, the posts or moinels of every window were gilt."

cord. It was on the tenth of June that the two Kings were first confronted; and so desirous was each prince to commemorate the interesting moment, that draftsmen were retained in either camp to delineate the prominent features of the scene, and authors employed to transmit to posterity its most trifling incidents.* On that auspicious morning, Henry rode forth on horseback towards Ardres, while Francis in like manner advanced towards Guisnes. A momentary impression of distrust is said to have passed over Henry's mind; but it was quickly dissipated, and, spurring on his steed, with undaunted confidence, he advanced before his attendants. No sooner had Francis perceived the movement than he also came, and with an equally generous impulse received his royal guest. In an instant both princes encountered each other, when each touched his bonnet; and each alighting, the two princes eagerly embraced with every demonstration of fraternal affection; then walked arm in arm around the encampment, amidst the fixed gaze and rapturous acclamations of countless spectators. Their respective attendants, with a simultaneous movement, rushed also to each others' arms; Frenchmen and Englishmen embraced and walked together; national prejudices seemed suspended; ancient rivalry yielded to involuntary sympathy, and the generous emulation of honour, loyalty, and courtesy. Much of this enthusiasm might perhaps be attributed to the novelty of the spectacle, and still more to its mag-

* Hall the chronicler (the recorder of London) attended by Henry's command. Fleuranges, and other men of talents, were in the French camp. From the sketches taken by the English artist, Holbein composed the celebrated picture long in Windsor Castle, but presented by His late Majesty to the Society of Antiquaries. Similar sketches were made by the French artists.

nificence. "I well perceived," says Hall, "the habiliments royal of the French King: his garment was a chemew of cloth of silver, culponed with cloth of gold, of damask cautelwise, and guarded on the borders with the Burgon band."* The dress of Henry, who delighted in finery, was equally superb: even on ordinary occasions he was accustomed to make an ostentatious display of jewels—in the collar of balas rubies pendent from his neck,† the diamonds inserted in his bonnet, and the rings clustering round his fingers. On this day, in addition to the ruby which he usually wore, on which was enamelled the battle of Bosworth Field, he displayed a profusion of emeralds, and other precious stones, which gave him a truly regal appearance. His courtiers vied in splendour with the attendants of Francis: the French soldiers appeared in uniforms of blue and yellow, emblazoned with the badge of Francis, the Salamander, emblematic of the

* "Over that," continues the chronicler, "he had a cloak of broached satin, with gold of purple colour, wrapped about his body, traverse beded from the shoulder to the waist, fastened in the loup of the first fould; this cloak was richly set with pearls and pretious stones. The French king had on his head a coif of damask gold set with diamonds, and his courser that he rode on was covered with a trapper of tissue, brodered with device, cut in fashion mantell-wise; the skirts were embowed and fret with frized work, and knit with corbelles and buttons tasseled of Turkie; making raines and headstall answering to the same work."

Having thus descanted on the monarch's dress, Hall devotes but few words to his person. "And verelie of his person the same Francis, a goodlie prince, statelie of countenance, merrie of *cheere*, browne coloured, great eyes, high nosed, big lipped, fair brested, *broad shoulders*, small legges, and long feete."

† This cellar, by order of Charles the First, was sold beyond sea by the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Holland. See Archæologia.

motto—"I nourish the good, extinguish the guilty." Henry and the English cavaliers wore on their crests the hawthorn,—that cherished, though humble badge, for ever endeared to the house of Lancaster, from the circumstance of Henry the Seventh having placed on his head, in Bosworth Field, the crown of England, which had been discovered in a hawthorn-bush. After the first ceremonies, the two kings withdrew to a tent of cloth of gold: on this spot, after reiterated congratulations, Henry began, *pro formâ*, to read the articles, when, instead of designating himself the King of France, he stopped abruptly after "I Henry, King of England," and laughing, exclaimed, "No, not the King of France; I should be an impostor if I claimed that title; for the King of France is here." The rest of the day was not spent in political deliberation, but in making arrangements for pleasure, and in promoting mirth and revelry; from this moment commenced a jubilee, such as Europe had never witnessed; in which jousting, drinking, music, and dancing, intermingled in unceasing rotation. The amusements of the day encroached on the slumbers of the night; and from one tent to another resounded mirth, and minstrelsy, and joyous acclamation. A constant interchange of visits took place between the two courts, and the plain of Guisnes presented, at the same moment, the novel sight of queens, or ladies passing in horse-litters, or magnificent tents thrown open for the accommodation of noble guests. Adjoining the palace were two conduits, continually replenished with wine, which was offered without distinction to all comers; contiguous to these, were two immense ovens, and culinary offices, in which the cooks, like the Cyclops, toiled incessantly, to satisfy the clamorous multitude. All the gradations of society were here exhibited, from the sovereign,

to whose table was borne the superb service of plate, to the temporary tabaret or booth, in which the vulgar passenger dearly purchased some trifling refreshment. An immense concourse of foreigners flocked to the spectacle; many of whom could procure no better accommodation than a booth and a truss of straw. Of the French and English nobility, many carried their estates on their backs, or mortgaged, for many years to come, the amount of their revenues. During the fortnight that Henry remained at Guisnes, prodigality obtained the praise of munificence, and decency was outraged in the name of hospitality: day after day, came vagrants, artisans, and labourers, to drink and carouse, who afterwards lay stretched on the ground in brutal insensibility. Amidst these licentious excesses, high-mass was celebrated with the most imposing pageantry; the two monarchs sitting in chairs of state, on either side of the altar, where stood Wolsey between them to perform the sacerdotal office. The finest singers in France assisted in the vocal part of this solemnity; but Wolsey was the prominent personage. After having presented to the two monarchs the Gospel and the pix, which each with reverence pressed to his lips, he advanced to the Queens Claude and Catherine, who sat side by side, in a separate oratory; but these princesses, who really felt for each other the cordial good-will which their lords affected, instead of kissing the pix, tenderly embraced, and thus offered, before God and man, a pledge of amity, and love, and concord. In the tournament was concentrated the magnificence of both parties. On either side three hundred cavaliers entered the lists: Francis and his train appeared in purple spangled with gold; whilst Henry and his band wore russet satin, wreathed with eglantine, of which the device is "*sweet, and pleasant, and green, if kindly touched; but if*

rudely handled it may prick and wound." To interpret these devices, some of which were intricate as the riddle of Œdipus,* must have formed a constant source of amusement to the spectators; nor was the royal balcony, which the queens and princesses and their ladies occupied, a less prominent object of attention. It is reluctantly admitted by our national chronicler, that the belles of France surpassed the English fair, in the richness and elegance of their habiliments. A splenetic† writer has, indeed, insinuated that the Gallic costume was injurious to female modesty; but there appears to have been no other foundation for this censure, than that the French ladies judiciously appropriated a lighter dress to dancing, divested of those cumbrous ornaments, which must have equally checked the elasticity or destroyed the grace of their movements.

The intercourse between Claude and Catherine appears not to have been merely courteous, but affectionate. The royal party, embellished by the beautiful Queen Mary, and enlivened by the witty Duchess of Alançon, included also her mother, the ingenious, though profligate Louisa, Duchess of Angouleme. In the French, as at the English court, the ladies dined at a separate table; but it was observed by Fleuranges,‡ that having first

* Of these devices, one of the most conspicuous was, "a man's heart burning in the hand of a lady, who held," says Hall, "a garden-pot stilling on the heart." The robes and trappings appear to have been emblazoned with anagrams, scarcely less perplexing than hieroglyphics. Henry displayed a series of ciphers signifying, "God, my friend, my realm." The French King wore the symbol of a book, on which were incribed the characters A, M, E; which being combined with the Latin word *liber*, for book, were made to signify, "LIBERA ME,"—deliver me.

† Polydore Virgil.

‡ See Montfaucon's Monumens de la Monarchie Françoise.

taken a private repast at home, they merely went to the banquet as to a showy spectacle. Music and dancing relieved their attention, and the vociferations of the heralds for largess, were echoed by the spontaneous plaudits of the people. To Claude and Catherine, who aspired not to the character of politicians, perhaps not all these acclamations imparted such heartfelt pleasure, as two simple ballads,* composed in honour of the projected al-

* Par fille et fils d'illustre geniture,
Deux nonpareils chefs, d'ordre de nature,
On voit reigner au monde bons amis,
Ceque l'ung veut par l'autre est admis,
Soit en parler, ou en pleine escriture—
Par fille et fils.

Le createur de toute creature,
Pour demontrer ceque de sa facture,[1]
Divine vouloir, a sur terre transmis
Par fille et fils.

Amour en cœur, en a fait l'ouverture—
Bein-heureux sont de voir telle adventure,
François, Anglois, jadis grands ennemis,
Car à dangier, ne seront plus submis,
Ains auront paix ferme en leur cloture,
Par fille et fils.

This and the following ballad are extracted from Montfaucon's Monumens de la Monarchie Françoise.

Le Parlement de volonté divine,
Où presidoit Raison, qui tout domine,
Prins au conseil deliberation,
Fut arrêté sans contradiction,
Qu'entre deux Rois, paix prendroit origine,

[1] Obsolete.—The French orthography is preserved.

liance between their children; in listening to which, they could not but indulge the anticipation of maternal fondness. Amidst all this pomp, and revelry, and luxury, there existed between the French and English, a mutual caution and distrust, truly characteristic of a barbarous age. Each monarch was encircled with guards, and, according to stipulation, accompanied by an equal number of attendants.

To the generous nature of Francis, such restraint was peculiarly revolting; and he one morning infringed it, by galloping to the palace of Guisnes before Henry was risen; when, pro-

Humilité demanda sa saisine,
Et supplia que Raison sa voisine,
Mist* cet arret en execution
Au Parlement.

Distort, en Bryt et Guerre s'en mutine,
Finance dit, mit en ruine,
Larrecin fait sa deploration,
Sans *recepvoir*† leur opposition
Dessus le champs le procès on termine,
Au Parlement.

Adventuriers feront maigre cuisine
Poules et coqs n'auront plus en pluvine,
De leur excès on a fait mention
Au Parlement.

Religueux qui vivent sans doctrine,
Tremblent de peur comme au vent la courtine,
Car il est dit, que *reformation*,
Viendra de brief, et pour conclusion.
Miche au couvert pour leur vivre St. Assigne.
Au Parlement.

* Mit. † Recevoir.

ceeding to his chamber, he entered with a smile, exclaiming, "Lo! I come to be your prisoner." Flattered by this trait of confidence, Henry took from his neck a superb collar, which he besought him to wear for the sake of his brother. Francis readily accepted the pledge, but took occasion to bind on Henry's arm a bracelet still more precious. At length, when Henry prepared to leave his bed, Francis sportively insisted on being his valet that morning, and actually officiated as such with the adroitness of a page.

It is natural to inquire what part Anne Boleyn took in this superb spectacle. History mentions not her name; but it cannot be doubted, that she was included in the number of Claude's female attendants: many of her nearest relatives were present; in particular, her father's younger brother and his wife, Sir Edward and Lady Boleyn;* her maternal uncle, the Lord Edmund Howard; her father; and, admitted to the rank of a baroness, her respected mother.† At this period, however, Anne was too young to have attracted much notice, although she probably danced before Henry, in the masque performed in compliment to his visit to Queen Claude, and dancing was an accomplishment in which she is allowed to have excelled the greater part of her contemporaries. It may also be remarked of Henry, that, during his continental excursion, he appears, by his decorous conduct, to have justified the eulogium which Erasmus had lately bestowed on his conjugal and domestic virtues. "What house

* Sir Edward Boleyn married the heiress of Sir John Tempest. See the pedigree of Boleyn, in the Appendix.

† In the list preserved in the Lambeth library, published in Du Carrol's Anglo-Norman Antiquities, she is called, the Lady *Bologn.* See also the list published in Fidde's Life of *Wolsey.*

is there, of any of your subjects, that can give an example of state in wedlock, so chaste and harmonious? Where can you find a wife more suitable to the best of husbands?"* At this period similar impressions appear to have been produced on the mind of the Emperor Charles, who repeatedly felicitated his aunt on being united to the most magnificent and generous prince in Europe.

On the departure of Henry's court, the marvellous palace vanished, like the more elegant fabric of a modern *Autocrat*,† leaving no vestige of its former grandeur but in the recollections of the spectators, to whom the meeting of Guisnes formed an eventful epoch of existence. "I account him a fortunate man," says Bishop Godwin, "who had seen two such kings and one emperor in so short a time."‡

* See Grove's Life of Wolsey.

† The ice-palace of the Empress of Russia.

‡ The subsequent visit, which Henry and his suite made to Gravelines, excited disgust in the French court. Charles returned with Henry to Calais, where something like a repetition of the spectacle of Guisnes was attempted without the same success. "An amphitheatre was constructed, in the centre of which was a pillar, formed of eight masts tied together: this pillar supported the weight not only of the roof of the whole fabric (whither, as into a lower heaven, the moon and stars had descended), but organs also, and places for the receipt of all sorts of music in abundance. These places were adorned with tapestry, statues, and curious pictures. All was prepared for the entertainment of the royal guests, and the banquet ready to be served in, when the same mischance that befell the French canopy, made our English heaven and earth meet together." "God," says Godwin, "as displeased with the mad prodigality of these two kings, sent a tempest, the violence whereof scattered this counterfeit heaven; blew out a thousand wax tapers,

CHAPTER IV.

RETURN OF ANNE BOLEYN TO ENGLAND. — ESTABLISHMENT AT COURT. — ATTACHMENT TO PERCY. — SEPARATION OF THE LOVERS.

Wolsey—Duke of Buckingham—His Trial—War with France—Anne's Return to England—Anne in the Queen's service—Character of Catherine—Henry's Gallantry—He meets Anne—A Masked Ball—Henry's visit to Wolsey—Anne's Beauty—Her Manners—Accomplishments—Moral Qualities—Luxury of the Court—Maids of Honour—Earl of Northumberland—Old Castles—Servants' Amusements—Percy woos Anne—The Lovers separated—Percy and Wolsey—Northumberland's Lecture—Anne's Resentment.

It is well known that Wolsey, in common with many contemporary statesmen, was addicted to the study of astrology, and sometimes amused his sovereign with flattering predictions, founded on the calculation of his nativity. Had the cardinal really possessed the faculty of prescience, he might have discovered that the fortunes of Anne Boleyn's house were mysteriously connected with his evil destiny, and that her ascending star was to be portentous of his ruin. Without referring to the old prophecy transmitted by Cavendish, it is worthy of remark, that, by one of those casualties, which sometimes occur to baffle human penetration, Wolsey was the primary author of Anne Boleyn's greatness,—the creator, not the arbiter, of her splendid

defaced the glorious thrones prepared for these princes; frustrated the expectation of the people, and forced the king to the necessity of another place."—Godwin's History of Henry the Eighth.

destiny. With him had originated that marriage between Louis and the Princess Mary, to which she owed her first elevation. By his influence was to be renewed the hostility with France, and by his fiat she was recalled to her native country.

In the career of statesmen, one passion so frequently assumes the semblance of another, that policy may easily be mistaken for malice, and ambition perform the ministry of vengeance. In deserting the cause of Francis, Wolsey could have been actuated by no personal feelings of enmity or prejudice; his affections were absorbed in one pursuit; and even his prejudices submitted to the great object of all his efforts, intrigues, and combinations —the attainment of the papacy. A ludicrous parody was offered to the presumption of the minister, in the vanity of his sovereign, who, with the aid (as is supposed) of More and Wolsey, had attacked Luther, in a catholic tract, for which he was rewarded by Pope Leo, with a bull, and a compliment, such as might have shocked the modesty of any but a royal author. But so elated was Henry with success, that he even tolerated the raillery of his jester Patch, in the well known quibble of—"Pr'ythee, Henry, leave the faith to defend itself, and let you and I defend our own kingdom."*

With this farce was contrasted the tragedy of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham. This nobleman, who was not only the first peer, but hereditary constable of England, maintained his priority by a suitable display of magnificence and liberality. In

* It may be observed, that Henry, in his Defence of the Seven Sacraments, lays particular stress on that of marriage, as the institution of Paradise, quoting a passage, "what therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder." The King's book was presented to the Pope, in full consistory, by Dr. John Clerk, Dean of Windsor.

addition to these brilliant advantages, it was his misfortune to possess another, and unhappily an invidious claim to distinction in his remote affinity to the Plantagenets. In tracing his pretensions to royal blood, he had to revert to the son of Edward the Third, from whose daughter he was, in the female line, descended. But ambition speculates freely within the limits of possibility; superstition even goes beyond them: and over the Duke's mind these two powerful springs of human action had obtained an alarming ascendant. Cajoled by the artifices of a monk, who predicted that the King should die childless, he ventured, in some unguarded moments, to expatiate on his latent pretensions to the succession; and, as spies and delators formed a part of every nobleman's household, his words were reported to Henry, and, by the agency of suborned domestics, articles of treason were actually exhibited against him. When brought to trial, it might be some aggravation of his sufferings, that he recognised among his judges, the Duke of Suffolk, the Earls of Northumberland and Oxford, with whom he had been so lately associated on the plain of Guisnes; and that in the Duke of Norfolk, who presided at this tribunal, he beheld the friend of his youth, who, by the intermarriage of their children, was become his acknowledged brother.

On the death of his royal bride, the Lady Anne Plantagenet, the Lord Thomas Howard had fixed his affections on the second daughter of Buckingham, who, though already contracted, and attached to the young Earl of Westmoreland, was compelled, by her father's authority, to espouse a man, ill-assorted in age, and from whose person and manners she recoiled with aversion. Little did the Duke suspect, that the child, whose happiness was thus sacrificed to schemes of greatness, would have to struggle,

in the wane of life, with desertion and indigence, with sickness and sorrow, with all the wrongs and sufferings that cruelty and injustice can inflict on helpless woman.*

The arraignment of Buckingham would alone fix an indelible stain on the judicial administration of this reign, since, in direct violation of the statutes of Edward the Third (whom Henry professed to make the model of his ambitious imitation), the noble culprit was tried and convicted, on the evidence of a perfidious monk, employed to seduce his loyalty, and the venal testimony of a domestic, who for misconduct had been discharged from his service, and from revenge conspired against his former benefactor. No overt act was proved, to substantiate the charge of treason; but any ambitious dream was sufficient to alarm Henry's jealousy; nor did the peers venture to incur the charge of disloyalty by thwarting the wishes of a despotic sovereign. The Duke of Norfolk, who presided at the tribunal, shed tears, in pronouncing the fatal sentence. "My lord of Norfolk," replied the prisoner, "you have said, that, as a traitor, I should be bound; but traitor I am none; I was never any. But, my Lords, I nothing malign for that you have done to me; but the eternal God forgive you my death, as I do. I shall never sue to the King for life; howbeit he is a gracious prince, and more grace may come from him than I deserve. I desire you, my Lords, to pray for me."—On being conducted to his barge, he declined sitting on the cushions prepared for him, exclaiming,

* This lady was supplanted in her husband's affections by a female attendant, for whose sake she was compelled to leave her house, and to live in comparative proverty, whilst her rival presided at the Duke's table, and publicly appeared with his children at court.

"When I went to Westminster, I was Duke of Buckingham; now am I Edward Bohune, the worst caitiff of the world."

The Duke of Norfolk survived his unfortunate friend but two years. In that interval he witnessed the progressive advancement of his son-in-law Sir Thomas Boleyn, who was promoted to be Comptroller of the King's Household; but he lived not to draw any presage of his grandchild's greatness; and if he ever saw her after the memorable moment of Queen Mary's marriage, it was probably in the train of Queen Claude, at the interview at Guisnes. Hostility to France having been resolved in the English cabinet, a plausible pretext for war could not long be wanting; and after the ordinary process of outrage on the liberty and property of aliens residing, on the faith of former treaties, in either kingdom, the Duke of Suffolk invaded France, and various depredations were reciprocally committed by the belligerent parties. A formal requisition was also made to Francis for the restoration of Anne Boleyn, who in consequence returned to England; under whose protection is not specified by any historian. It is however acknowledged, that the King and Queen of France submitted to her departure with reluctance;* to the latter, in particular, she was so much endeared, that Anne appears not to have formally quitted her service, but merely to have relin-

* Mezerai pretends that Francis was deeply chagrined by the privation of her society, having made her the depositary of his secrets; but this assertion is too ridiculous to require refutation; in 1522, Anne could not have been more than sixteen. On the other hand, Camden, and after him Burnet and Rapin, affirm that, on the death of Claude, she entered the service of the Duchess of Alançon; but it is certain, if she was an attendant on that princess, it must have been prior to Claude's death, which happened in 1524.

quished her place till a more favourable moment should permit her to resume it. Sir Thomas Boleyn probably conjectured that the war with France would be of no long duration; and with his usual discretion reserved for his daughter an asylum in one court, without hazarding displeasure in another.

Scarcely had Wolsey coalesced with the Emperor Charles, than he saw sufficient cause to distrust the sincerity of his new patron: on the death of Leo, regardless of former promises, he procured the nomination of his tutor, Adrian, to the papal chair. Adrian, indeed, was old and infirm, and Wolsey might reasonably indulge the hope of becoming his successor.

Sir Thomas Boleyn was less sanguine in his expectations; and as he foresaw the alienation of Wolsey from Charles, he could with confidence predict his coalition with his rival potentate: but however he might have speculated on this probability, the death of Claude precluding the re-establishment of Anne in France, left him no alternative but to attach her to the service of Catherine. In effecting this object, he probably had recourse to the aid of Wolsey, whose influence was rather increased than diminished, and who, whilst he assumed in the state the supremacy conferred by talent, controlled the Queen through the medium of her husband's authority, and governed the King by flattering his passions, and administering to his pleasures.

Although Henry continued to live with Catherine in seeming concord, it was well known to his confidential intimates, that he had become indifferent to her person and weary of her society. At the period of their marriage, they had sympathised in many of their tastes and pursuits, nor was the Queen less acceptable to her youthful consort for those retired and sedentary habits, derived from the Spanish court, which forbade her to dance, to hunt, or sing, like the less fastidious princesses of England. In

her happier days, she was endeared to him by a certain feminine reserve, tempered with mildness, that pervaded her general deportment. Eagerly as Henry sought popular applause for himself, he was well pleased that the partner of his throne should remain the unambitious spectator of his exhibitions and his triumphs; whilst, on his part, he witnessed with complacency her progress in *tent-stitch** and *tapestry*, and approved the reformation which, both by precept and example, she sought to introduce in female manners. Unhappily for Catherine, as her beauty declined, her gravity increased; and though celebrated for her learning, she appears not to have possessed those companionable talents which enliven domestic retirement. It is the misfortune of the female sex, that superior moral qualities, though necessary to insure esteem, are not sufficient to preserve affection; and although Catherine's exemplary virtues were such as disarmed her husband's censure, he often repined at her "tediousness and peevishness,"† when, in reality, he merely missed in her the faculty of participating in his favourite enjoyments. If, at stated seasons, she still presided at the banquet, her heart was no longer in unison with the scene; submission was a poor substitute for sympathy; obedience atoned not for the absence of animation; and Henry gladly escaped from Catherine's mild, but melancholy aspect, to alluring smiles, and exhilarating companions. Hitherto, with the exception of Lady Tallbois, he had been devoted to no acknowledged mistress; even for her his attachment had been kept alive by the birth of a son, whom, in his solicitude for a male heir, he once thought of including in the succession to the crown.

* Catherine has been celebrated in Latin and English verse, for her proficiency in this accomplishment.

† Herbert. Fiddes.

Although his propensity to gallantry was not unsuspected, a sense of decency and propriety had hitherto induced him to conceal his irregular conduct from the world; and if his wife had sometimes the pain of hearing of his aberrations from morality, she was spared the anguish of watching his seductions, and detecting his infidelities.

It was remarked, that with a rigid observance of punctilio, Henry continued to dine and sup in the Queen's chamber; but no sooner was the meal despatched, than, attended by Sir Edward Neville, Sir Francis Brian, and two or three familiar associates, he frequently entered his barge, masked and disguised; and like the Caliph Haroun al Raschid, went in pursuit of pleasant adventures.

On such occasions, his most agreeable haunt was Yorke House,* where Wolsey, according to preconcerted arrangement, had prepared a banquet for his reception. Of these rich voluptuous entertainments, Cavendish has transmitted a description, which, in his play of Henry the Eighth, is immortalized by Shakspeare. To the same high authority, we may refer the popular tradition, that Henry the Eighth first met Anne Boleyn at a masked ball, in the cardinal's palace.†

"On one of these occasions," as Cavendish relates, "the King

* On the site of Whitehall.

† It should however be observed, that the minute description of Cavendish nearly agrees with the brief sketch which Holinshed has introduced, of the entertainment given 1518, by Cardinal Wolsey to the French ambassadors; at which Henry danced with his sister, the Queen, Duchess of Suffolk, and where his mistress, Elizabeth Blount, was present: the principal difference between them is, that Cavendish makes Henry play at the game of mumchaunce.

and his companions came, disguised as shepherds, in garments made of fine cloth of gold, and fine crimson satin (paned), and cappes of the same, with visors of good proportion of *visnamy*, their hairs and beards of fine silver wire, or black silk: before this gallant company, appeared sixteen torch-bearers, and three drummers; when they reached the watergate, a loud salute announced the arrival of honorable guests, and the tables were set in the chamber of presence, all covered, and my Lord Cardinal sitting under the cloth of estate there, having all his service alone; and there was there set, a lady and a nobleman, and a gentleman and a gentlewoman, throughout all the tables in the chamber, on the one side, which were made adjoining, as it were but one table, all which order and devise was done by the Lord Sands, then, Lord Chamberlain, and Sir Henry Guildford, Comptroller of the King's House: then, immediately after this great shot of the guns, the Cardinal desired the Lord Chamberlain, and the Comptroller, to look what it should mean, as though he knew nothing of the matter; they looking out of the windows into the Thames, returned again, and shewed him, that it seemed they were noblemen, and strangers arrived at his bridge, coming as ambassadors, from some foreign prince: with that, quoth the Cardinal, I desire you, because you can speak French, to take the pains to go into the hall, there to receive them according to their estates, and to conduct them into this chamber, where they shall see us, and all these noble personages, being merry at our banquet, desiring them to sit down with us, and to take part of our feast. Then went they down into the hall, whereas they received them with twenty new torches, and conveyed them up into the chamber, with such a number of flutes and drums as I have seldom seen together at one place and time. At

their arrival into the chamber, two-and-two together, they went directly before the Cardinal, where he sate, and saluted him very reverently; to whom the Lord Chamberlain, for them, said, 'Sir, forasmuch as they be strangers, and cannot speak English, they have desired me to declare unto you, that they having understanding of this your triumphant banquet, where was assembled such a number of excellent fair dames, could do no less, and under the supportation of your Grace, but to repair hither, to view as well their incomparable beauty, as for to accompany them at mumchaunce, and then after to dance with them, and to have of their acquaintance. And, Sir, furthermore, they require of your grace licence to accomplish the same cause of their coming.' To whom the Cardinal said, he was very well content they should so do. Then went the maskers, and first saluted all the dames, and then returned to the most worthiest, and then opened their great cup of gold, filled with crowns, and other pieces of gold, to whom they set certain of the pieces of gold to cast at, thus perusing all the ladies and gentlewomen: to some they lost, and of some they won, and perusing after this manner all the ladies, they returned to the Cardinal with great reverence, pouring down all the gold left in their cup, which was above two hundred crowns. 'Oh!' quoth the Cardinal, and so cast the dice and won them, whereof was made great noise and joy. Then, quoth the Cardinal to my Lord Chamberlain, 'I pray you that you will shew them, that meseemeth there should be a nobleman amongst them who is more meet to occupy this seat and place than am I, to whom I would most gladly surrender the same, if I knew him.' Then spoke my Lord Chamberlain to them in French, declaring my Lord Cardinal's words, and they, redounding him again in the

ear, the Lord Chamberlain said to my Lord Cardinal, 'Sir, they confess that among them there is such a noble personage, whom, if your Grace will point out from the rest, he is content to disclose himself, and to take and accept your place most worthily.' With that, the Cardinal taking a good advisement among them, at the last, quoth he, 'Meseemeth the gentleman with the black beard should be even he;' and, with that, he rose out of his chair, and offered the same to the gentleman in the black beard, with his cap in his hand. The person to whom he offered then his chair was Sir Edward Neville, a comely knight, of a goodly personage, that much more resembled the King's person in that mask than any other: the King hearing, and perceiving the Cardinal was deceived, could not forbear laughing, but pulled down his vizor, and Master Neville's also, and dashed out such a pleasant countenance and cheer, that all the noblest estates there assembled, perceiving the King to be there amongst them, rejoiced very much. The Cardinal eftsoons desired his highness to take the place of estate, whom the King answered, that he would go first and shift his apparel, and so departed, and went straight into my Lord Cardinal's bed-chamber, where was a great fire prepared for him; and new apparelled him with rich and princely garments. And in the time of the King's absence, the dishes of the banquet were cleane taken up, and the table spread again, with new and clean perfumed cloaths, every man sitting still until the King's majesty, with all his maskers, came in among them again, every man new apparelled. Then the King took his seat under the cloth of estate, commanding every person to sit still as they did before. In came a new banquette before the King's majesty, and to all the rest throughout the tables, wherein, I suppose, were served two hundred dishes of

wonderous costly devices and subtilties. Thus passed they forth the night in banquetting, dancing, and other triumphant devices, to the great comfort of the King, and pleasant regard of the nobility there assembled."*

Whether it were at York House, or at Greenwich, that Henry and Anne Boleyn first met, it appears to have been under Wolsey's suspices that she arrested his attention. In the Queen's presence-chamber she might have been occasionally eclipsed by fairer faces, to which superficial observers would award the prize of beauty. That Anne was a brunette is well known, by description and representation from the artist and the poet;† and it

* Cavendish's Life of Wolsey.

† "There was at this time presented to the eye of the court the rare and admyrable *bewtie* of the fresh and yonge Lady Anne Bolein, to be attendichte upon the Queene. In this noble imp the graces of nature, graced by gracious *educacion*, seemed even at the first to have promised blis unto hereafter times; she was taken at that time to have a bewtie not so whitly *cleere* and fresh, above al we may *esteeme*, which appeared much more excellent by her favour passinge sweete and chearful, and thes both also increased by her noble presence of shape and *fasion*, representing both mildness and majesty, more than can be exprest. Ther was found indeede upon the side of her naile upon one of her fingers some little showe of a naile, which yet was so small, by the report of those that have seen her, as the *workmaister* seemed to leave it an occasion of greater grace to her hand, which, with the tip of one of her other fingers, might be and was usually by her hidden, without any least blemish to it. Likewise ther wer said to be upon certin parts of her boddy small moles, incident to the clearest complections; and certainly both thes were none other than might more stain their writings, with note of malice, than have catch at such light moles in so bright beams of bewtie, than in any part shaddow it, as may right wel appeare by many arguments, but chiefly by the choice and exquisite

is notorious, that on one of her fingers was a supplemental nail; a defect which, if we may credit her encomiasts, she had the address to conceal, or the skill to improve into a perfection. The fascination of Anne appears not to have resided even in her features, though of these the loveliness is almost universally acknowledged; but in her eloquent eyes, the symmetry of her form, the mingled airiness and dignity of her carriage; above all, in those indefinable charms of grace and expression which lend interest to every glance, and intelligence to each movement. Such, at least, is the impression that Wiatt gives in the following lines, avowedly written to convey an idea of her charming countenance:—

A face that should content me wond'rous well
Should not be fair,—but lovely to behold;
With gladsome cheer all grief for to expel,
With sober looks; so would I that it should
Speak without words, such words as none can tell.
Her tresse also should be of crisped gold,
With wit, and then might chance I might be tied,
And knit again the knot that should not slide.*

Trained in the court of France, Anne had learned to improve her person by all those embellishments of dress, which, under the direction of good taste, render art so powerful an auxiliary

judgments, of many brave spirits that weer esteemed to honor the honorable parts in her, even honored of envie itself."

Wiatt's Life of Queen Anne Bolen.

* See Nott's Life of Wiatt. The "tresse of crisped gold" is a poetic license. The colour of Anne Boleyn's hair appears to have been a dark brown, as may be seen by a portrait taken of her by Holbein, still preserved in Warwick Castle.

to nature. Discarding, as far as etiquette permitted, the stiff costumes of English dames, she ventured to introduce such novelties of fashion as best became her own form; and the admiration she excited soon induced other ladies to imitate her example. But it was not only at the toilette that her taste was confessedly pre-eminent: unrivalled in every captivating talent, she danced like a nymph, and not only touched the lute and virginal with a masterly hand, but accompanied them with her voice in a strain of delicious melody. To these brilliant accomplishments she added an exquisite winningness and propriety of manners, not less rare, and even more seducing than beauty; insomuch, as Lord Herbert says,* that "when she composed her hands to play and her voice to sing, it was joined with that sweetness of countenance that three harmonies concurred: likewise when she danced, her rare proportions carried themselves into all the graces that belong either to rest or motion; briefly, it seems, the most attractive perfections were eminent in her."

Of her moral qualities it might be less easy to form a judgment. She appears to have imbibed the pride of her mother's character, and to have inherited her father's ambition. The frankness of her nature had so far prevailed over an artificial education, and the lessons of prudence inculcated by statesmen

* Lord Herbert appears to have derived his account of Anne Boleyn from Sir John Russell, the first Earl of Bedford,—on whose authority he informs us, that Jane Seymour was the more majestic, but Anne Boleyn the more lovely; that *love* threatened in the eyes of Jane, but laughed in those of Anne; that the former, the richer she was dressed, the fairer she appeared, but that the other never looked so fair as when she was plainly dressed. The same connoisseur adds, "though Queen Catherine, in her younger days, was, for beauty and dignity, not often to be paralleled."

and diplomatists, that, in defiance of caution and experience, she spoke and acted from the impulse of feeling, with an intrepidity sometimes honoured as sincerity, more often stigmatized as imprudence. To this indiscretion she added a spirit of volatile coquetry, which, though palliated by the manners of the age, often exposed her conduct to suspicion and misrepresentation.

The interior of Queen Catherine's court could have offered little for her amusement. Much praise has been bestowed on that princess for those meritorious labours in tent-stitch and tapestry, with which she sought to supply the place of hunting, archery, and other unfeminine modes of pastime. It does not, however, appear, that these labours were beguiled with a book or song; and Anne, who possessed, in the vivacity and facility of her conversation, another source of attraction, little appreciated by the indefatigable sempstresses that engrossed the Queen's favour, was naturally disposed to become impatient of seclusion in such uncongenial society.

In the economy of the royal household existed many peculiarities, which, to those who possessed either cultivated taste or refined feeling, must have been offensively repulsive.* It might seem paradoxical to assert, that there is a partial excess of luxury incident to a rude state of society, of which the more general diffusion which characterizes an advanced state of civilization, affords the best corrective. In the gorgeous finery of King Henry's court, we often trace a resemblance to the barbaric splendour and magnificence exhibited by the despots of Asia and

* Of the total absence of order and decorum from this scene of profligate dissipation, some idea may be formed from the proclamation issued against "strong and mighty beggars, rascals, vagabonds, and *masterless* folk, who hang about the court."

Africa; and poorly as that age was furnished with those more elegant conveniences and accommodations, that essentially contribute to the comfort and refinement of modern life, it will be found, that, wherever wealth abounded, there prevailed a superfluity of all that was rare and precious,—an excess of pomp and prodigality, to which modern Europe scarcely offers any parallel. Under the Tudors, the frank hospitality of the rude Saxon monarchs was still perpetuated on public festivals, at Christmas and Easter, on twelfth day and Michaelmas, and some other extraordinary occasions, when the King lived in hall, and freely treated all who asked for entertainment. In general, the palace, like the pageant so often admitted within its walls, presented a motley combination of bloated luxury and squalid wretchedness, fantastic elegance and sordid penury. The royal apartments were strewn with rushes; the stairs and floors of the other rooms were often inlaid with filth; and whilst fires* blazed in the great chambers, hung with arras, the inferior officers were shivering with cold, and some of their attendants literally beggars.

Among other statutes published in the 17th year of this reign, at Eltham, was one, by which it was enacted, that none but decent persons should be admitted into court service; that in future no rascal† should be employed in any domestic capacity; and that the scullions of the kitchen should not be permitted to go naked. By one article, it was prohibited to any‡ of the

* Coals were only allowed for the King, Queen, and Lady Mary's chambers.

† A rascal implied an illiterate vagrant; one who could not even repeat his Creed.

‡ It was expressly stipulated, that the officers of the squillery shall see silver and pewter vessels kept safe (pewter vessels being then

King's household to follow the King when he should go on his pastime, unless invited. By another article, obviously dictated by Henry's personal feelings, it is enacted, that in future none be admitted but persons of good demeanour, fashion, gesture, countenance, and stature, so as the King's house may be furnished with such as are tried, elect, and picked for the King's honour. To the privilege of maintenance, implied in the *bouche* of court, a comparatively small number of the palace inmates were admitted; but for the personal attendants both of the King and Queen, there was in general kept a plentiful table, and to the six maids of honour were allotted a chet loaf and a manchet, a chine of beef, and a gallon of ale for breakfast.*

costly); and it is forbidden to the King's attendants to steal locks or keys from cupboards, or other articles of furniture out of noblemen's or gentlemen's houses where he goes to visit. The King's *barber* is enjoined to be cleanly, and by no means to frequent the company of misguided women, and idle persons. The Knight Marshal is directed to take good care that all such unthrifty and common women as follow the court be banished.

* "King Henry," says Loyd, "understood a man and a dish. Among the dainties which he relished, were giggots of mutton or venison, stopped with cloves; chickens in crituary; larkes, sparrow, or lamb stued with chines of mutton; venison pasty; jelly hippocras; cream of almonds.

"Stabling was allowed to such of the Queen's gentlewomen as were peers' daughters. Seven messes of ladies dined at the same table in the great chamber; a chet loaf and manchet, ale and wine, beef and mutton, were supplied in abundance, with the addition of capons or hens, pigeons and conies. On fast-days, salt salmon, salted eels, whitings, gurnet, plaice, and flounders: fruit was reserved for Lent: butter was always allowed in profusion.

"The Queen's table was furnished with more elegance, and with the

The utmost regularity was observed in the order and rotation of meals. The gentlemen and ladies dined in separate apartments, at stated hours, throughout the year, never departing from this rule, but on high and especial occasions. It was the prerogative of the King alone to dine when he thought proper; and to Henry, who was notoriously an epicure, this prerogative was perhaps of some importance.

The Queen's maids, although gentlewomen by birth and education, appear not to have possessed any peculiar privileges: they were indeed permitted to retain in attendance on their persons a waiting-woman and a spaniel; to receive presents and amatory verses from their *servants;* and exhibit emblems and devices among their rivals and admirers. To the monotony of their life some little interruption was offered, when they migrated at Christmas and Easter, from Richmond to Eltham, or from Greenwich to Bridewell,* the usual residence of the royal family

additional delicacies of fricandes or custard, frythour or tarte; besides every delicacy of the season.

"The brewer is enjoined not to put hops or brimstone into the ale.

"A swan was five shillings, a capon eighteen-pence, pigeons eight-pence per dozen; a fat heron was eight-pence, a partridge four-pence, pullets three-pence, each; conies two shillings per dozen; the stork, the bustard, and the crane were then admitted to the table.

"A munificent provision of twenty-four loaves per day was made for the king's greyhounds: other dogs were banished the court, with the exception of spaniels kept for the ladies.

"A gift was allowed to whoever married, or made the king a present."

* Whenever the King and court removed, it was usual to transport with them the hangings, bedding, and portable furniture; all included under the general appellation of household stuff. The enormous sum of three hundred pounds was allowed in the household book to defray

in London: and they participated in the bustle and confusion incident to each dislodgement of the royal household. During the summer, they were often treated with an excursion to Windsor, the traditionary seat of Oberon and Titania; or to the still more romantic shades of Havering-Bower;* and sometimes, though rarely, they were permitted to accompany the King and Queen in a royal progress to some baronial castle, at a considerable distance from the metropolis.

In expeditions such as these, performed on horseback, through roads little frequented, and districts thinly populated, the fair equestrians had to experience fatigue and inconvenience, for which they were amply repaid by the gallantry of their servants or protectors. In the march of a royal progress, as in that of a victorious army, contributions were levied on the neighbouring gentry, who were eager to offer accommodation and amusements to such distinguished guests.

Whether Anne Boleyn repined at the restraints annexed to her situation, or whether the heart, that seemed light as air, was really susceptible of tender emotions, it is certain, that she had not long been an inmate of the English court, before she listened to an overture of marriage. Among other prerogatives of prelates and cardinals, it was, assuredly, not the least flattering, that the sons of noblemen were often placed in their household for education and improvement, and ushered into life under their care and superintendence. The palace of Wolsey was, with reason, considered as the best introduction to the court, and the

the expenses incidental to each migration. See the Ordonnances of the Royal Household; also several papers in the Archæologia.

* Havering-Bower, in Essex; a favourite spot with Queen Catherine.

fairest avenue to preferment. It was, therefore, not surprising, that even the Earl of Northumberland, the most genuine representative of the old English nobility, should solicit and obtain for his eldest son this envied distinction. Of the Hotspurs, the present earl was confessedly a degenerate descendant, since he had surrendered the trust, long hereditary in his family, of Warden of the Marches; and, during a temporary dispute with the King, solicited the intercession of Wolsey to avert his displeasure. But if the earl emulated not his forefathers in heroism, he surpassed them in urbanity and cultivation; and in his domestic establishments, both at Wresil Castle and Leckingfield Manor, he displayed indications of an improved and progressive taste, whilst he retained whatever was admirable in feudal grandeur, or worthy of royal munificence. To the mind of a reflective spectator, there is something in the Gothic turrets and moated walls of a baronial castle, that produces involuntary impressions of melancholy and respect, and conjures to fancy an image of antiquity, at once awful and attractive, touching and sublime. But this sentiment is the offspring of modern refinement; an association that clings to the "ivy-mantled towers;" an emotion inspired by the silence that pervades the halls and chambers, and which imparts a certain sepulchral solemnity to those relics and ruins of departed greatness. In reality, the castellated mansion of our forefathers was little calculated to awaken serious thoughts or refined feelings; and, except in the absence of the family, presented a constant scene of boisterous mirth, litigious broils, and bustling activity. The approach to a nobleman's seat was indicated by the baying of hounds, the jingle of hawks' bells, the lowing of herds, with other symbols of rural occupation. The aspect of the draw-

bridge and portcullis was somewhat repulsive; but to these features of a ruder age were contrasted others more congenial; and the spacious park, the blooming orchards, the fragrance of the plants, the flight of birds, all announced the vicinity of peace and affluence, security and luxury. A little town was included within the walls, in which the inhabitants presented almost every shade of English society. The crowded hall reflected the image of old Gothic hospitality: at the long oak-table the guest continued to be seated, and served above and below the salt-cellar; but the lord and lady no longer presided beneath the Dais;* and in the three or four chambers fitted up for their reception was to be detected something of transalpine elegance, intermingled with oriental luxury.† The loom of Antwerp furnished the arras, which contributed so essentially to the comfort and embellishment of the apartments; and pithy sentences and metrical stanzas were sometimes unrolled in orna-

* In the old baronial hall, it is well known, a large salt-cellar stood in the middle of the table, above or below which the guests were seated, according to their station. In the elder times, the lord and lady took their place, on a seat raised above the rest, under a canopy, hence called a *Dais*.

† At the Earl of Northumberland's castle of Wresil, was a study called Paradise; a closet in the middle, of eight squares, latticed: at the top of every square was a desk lodged to set books on books, on coffers within them; and these seemed as if joined to the top of the closet; and yet, by pulling, one or all would come down, and serve for desks to lay books on. In the two principal chambers were small beautiful staircases, with octagon screens, covered with bold sculptures, from the designs of Palladio.—See the Household Book of Henry Algernon Percy, Earl of Northumberland.

mented tapestry.* Amongst the members of this motley family were found mechanics, artisans, boors, vagrants, scholars and poets, tumblers, jugglers, and jesters. Various were the establishments formed in this compendious household. The choristers of the chapel were regularly instructed in music. The falconer had his auxiliaries: and a field was consecrated to the triumphs of archery. The banqueting-house and tennis-court offered resources for an idle hour. A master of the revels was ready at Christmas to exhibit plays† and mummeries suited to

* In Wresil Castle, and other mansions, some of the apartments were adorned in the oriental manner, with metrical inscriptions, called Proverbes. In one of the chambers at Wresil Castle, is a poem of twenty-four stanzas, each containing seven lines, of which the following is a specimen:—

When it is tyme of cost, and great expence,
Beware of waste, and sparely measure;
Who that outrageously maketh his dispence,
Looseth his goods, not long for to endure.

There were gardens within and orchards without the moat. In the orchards were raised artificial mounts, the ascent to the top of which was by winding walks, like steps, composed of cockle-shells, so contrived as to reach the summit without labour.

Of this immense mansion, a very small part was furnished: four or five rooms were fitted up for the great folks; the rest were merely offices and cabins, in which beds of the coarsest kind were provided, as occasion required. There was the gallery, the chapel, my lord's chamber, my lady's closet, the nursery, the great chamber, the carved chamber, paradise; and the lower house, the hall, the spicery, &c.

† These were something in the style of the old mysteries or moralities.

It was stipulated that the almoner should be a maker of interludes. Amongst the inmates of the household were officers of arms, heralds,

the occasion. In fine weather, the park invited to exercise, whilst the horrors of a dull day were beguiled by chess and dice, and the privileged jester.* In many of its features, the baronial mansion was obviously the counterpart of the royal palace. The lady had her gentlewomen attendants; the lord his council: and so little was it considered a disparagement to men of gentle blood, to enter such service, that the pages were commonly chosen from families of rank, and often attained the honours of knighthood. No contrast could be more striking than what the same mansion presented during the residence or absence of its numerous family, when stripped of all moveable furniture, without plate or porcelain, dismantled of its arras, by men and animals alike deserted, it almost realized the images of desolation and proscription so beautifully pourtrayed in the Cid,—"when no

yeomen of the chambers, yeomen of the household, fourteen gentlemen and choristers of the chapel, two bass singers, two tenor; domestic minstrels, with the tabret, the lute, the rebeck: there were also falconers, archers, carpenters, painters, carvers, &c. When the family removed to Leckingfield Manor, the rooms were stripped of hangings and furniture, and thirteen carts filled with household stuff.—See the Accompt Book of the Household of Henry Algernon, Earl of Northumberland.

* There was also a master of the grammar-school. To the chapel were annexed a dean, a sub-dean, an almoner, two priests, my lord's secretary, my lord's riding chaplain, a priest for my lord, a priest for the eldest son, another for my lord's household, another to read the Gospel daily in the chapel; there was another to sing mass daily; and there were six children choristers.

The ordinary breakfast of my lord and my lady was of two manchets, a quart of beer, a quart of wine, two pieces of salt fish—herrings or sprats. At the other meals, capons, mutton, eels, pigs, and pigeons predominated.

hawks were seen on the perches; no cloaks lying on the benches; no voices heard in the hall, which had so lately echoed the sound of mirth and revelry: and now, like a city desolated by plague, seemed but one vast sepulchre, prepared to receive the dead." Such was Wresil Castle; such the seat of the Percies; and there, but for the tyranny of Henry's passion, had Anne Boleyn lived in elegant and unambitious retirement. The young Lord Percy attended the cardinal in his daily visits to the King; and whilst the favourite was admitted to a private conference with his master, his noble page amused himself in one of the Queen's apartments, where he was sure to meet with the Maid of Honour.

In the progress of their acquaintance a mutual attachment was created, and the young nobleman frankly offered his hand, which was as frankly accepted. From his father the lover anticipated no opposition; his mistress felt equally assured of parental approbation; and to their mutual felicity nothing was wanting but caution and concealment. Unfortunately, Lord Percy had not acquired experience, and Anne was never destined to learn discretion. Their unguarded looks were noticed, their reciprocal sentiments suspected; and Henry, who had hitherto regarded Anne merely as an object of amusement, suddenly discovered that he had conceived for her a violent passion.

There is something truly characteristic of an arbitrary spirit, in the abrupt explosion of his feelings, and in his prompt and decided resolution, to withhold Anne Boleyn from the possession of another. Naturally vain and susceptible of flattery, he perhaps doubted not of really supplanting Lord Percy in her affections. He was at least determined to divide her from his rival, without having any distinct idea in what manner he should attach her to his own person. In this perplexity he had recourse,

as usual, to Wolsey; who, at once to conceal and gratify his master's wishes, suggested the expedient of sending for the old Earl of Northumberland, by whose parental prerogative the engagement might be cancelled without any other interference. In the meanwhile he undertook, by his own authority, to prevent Lord Percy from seeing the object of his love; a task in which he employed neither persuasion nor kindness, but, if we may credit Cavendish, upbraided and rebuked his folly with the most unfeeling asperity; commanding him, as he valued life and honour, for ever to desist from the pursuit of Anne Boleyn.

Contrary to his ordinary habits of deference and submission, the young lord justified his choice, expressing his conviction that his father could form no reasonable objection to his mistress, who, in birth and accomplishments, was fully his equal; and "though," he added, "she be but a simple knight's daughter, by her mother she is well nigh the Norfolk blood, and her father is one of the heirs general of the Earl of Ormond."*

Incensed, or rather, perhaps, alarmed at this opposition, the cardinal arraigned his disloyalty; adding, that though the lady knew it not, she was, by her sovereign, promised to another, with whom he was sure she would be well satisfied. At this fatal intimation, aggravated by the idea of Anne's possible infidelity, Lord Percy could no longer restrain his tears; and, in an agony of grief, such as can only be felt when the heart is suddenly

* From this passage, it appears that his attachment took place before September 1525, when Sir Thomas Boleyn was created Viscount Rochford. The editor of Henry's love-letters, in the Harleian Miscellany, pretends that Anne Boleyn did not come to England till 1527, a palpable mistake, since the Earl of Northumberland, the father of Lord Percy, died in 1526.

bereaved of hope and happiness, he implored the cardinal's intercession to soften the King in his favour; protesting that he had given his mistress a pledge never to be withdrawn but with the sacrifice of honour. Disconcerted by tenacity so little expected, the wary statesman broke off the conversation, and instantly despatched a special messenger to the north, who was charged not to return without the Earl of Northumberland. With whatever surprise or displeasure the earl received the summons, it was one to which he presumed not to refuse implicit obedience. When his barge reached York Gate, the cardinal proceeded to the gallery, to welcome his noble guest, and without allowing him to exchange a word with his son, conducted him to his private apartment. Their interview was long but decisive. Little as the earl was disposed to resist the prerogative, which had been long exercised by the sovereign, in forming or controlling the alliances of noble subjects, he was, perhaps, as little inclined to accept, as his daughter-in-law, a woman who had received a foreign education, and who, though "well nigh" to the Norfolk blood, was not heiress to the estates of Butler and Ormond. With avidity, therefore, did he listen to the cardinal's representations, and readily promised to adopt his prudent counsels. After this satisfactory explanation, they parted with every demonstration of cordial friendship; and the earl, that no suspicion might remain of his real intentions, in repassing the gallery, took his seat on a bench in front of the river, and calling to him his son, who approached with humble reverence, in the presence of the pages and the other numerous attendants, publicly reprehended his late conduct, solemnly enjoining him, on the penalty of disinheritance, to renounce for ever the hope of being united to Anne Boleyn. The dialogue, as related by

Cavendish, affords a curious picture of the domestic manners of the age, and strikingly exemplifies the slavish submission exacted for parental authority.* "Son, quoth he, even as thou art, and always hast been, a proud, licentious, disdainful, and a very unthrifty waster; so hast thou now declared thyself: wherefore, what joy, what comfort, what pleasure or solace shall I conceive of thee, that thus, without discretion, hast misused thyself, having neither regard unto thy natural father, nor unto thy natural sovereign lord, to whom all subjects loyal bear faithful obedience, nor yet to the wealth of thine own estate, but hast so unadvisedly assured thyself unto her, for whom thou hast purchased the King's high displeasure, intolerable for any subject to sustain; and, but that his Grace doth consider the lightness of thy head, and wilful qualities of thy person, his displeasure and indignation were sufficient to cast me and all my posterity into utter ruin and destruction; but he being my singular good and favourable Prince, and my lord Cardinal my good lord, hath and doth clearly excuse me in thy lewd fact, and doth rather lament thy lightness than malign me for the same, and hath devised an order to be taken for thee, to whom both thou and I be more bound than we be able well to consider: I pray to God, that this may be unto thee a sufficient admonition to use thyself more wisely hereafter; for that as I assure thee, if thou dost not amend thy prodigality, thou wilt be the last Earl of our house; for, of thy natural inclination, thou art disposed to be wasteful and prodigal,

* Cavendish appears, in imitation of contemporary chroniclers, to have at least lengthened, if not composed, the speeches here detailed. They are, however, corroborated by the Twisden manuscripts, lately published in Dr. Nott's Life of Wiatt.

and to consume all that thy progenitors have with great travail gathered, and kept together with honour; but loving the King's majesty, my singular good and gracious lord, I trust, I assure thee, so to order my succession, that ye shall consume thereof but a little; for I do not intend, I tell thee truth, to make thee my heir; for, thanks be to God, I have more boys, that, I trust, will prove much better, and use themselves more like world-wise and honest men, of whom I will choose the most likely to succeed me. Now, good masters and gentlemen (quoth he unto us,) it may be your chances hereafter, when I am dead, to see these things, that I have spoken to my son, prove so true as I speak them: yet, in the mean season, I desire you all to be his friends, and to tell him his fault when he doeth amiss, wherein ye shall show yourselves friendly unto him; and here (quoth he), I take my leave of you; and, son, go your ways unto my lord, your master, and attend upon him according to thy duty. And so he departed, and went his way, down the hall, into his barge."

In the mean while, a similar task was imposed on Sir Thomas Boleyn, who, however unwilling to relinquish such an advantageous connection, was equally prompt in obeying the King's wishes, and consented to withdraw his daughter from the court, without suffering a murmur to escape his lips. It was otherwise with Anne, who, naturally high spirited and ingenuous, could neither suppress nor conceal her resentment. She was, however, so far from penetrating the real cause of her disappointment, that she attributed it exclusively to the cardinal's malicious interference; and, on leaving the palace, protested with an impetuosity which, fatally for herself, she never learnt to control, that she would some day find the means to requite the injury.

CHAPTER V.

ANNE BOLEYN'S RETIREMENT AT HEVER CASTLE.—RECALL TO COURT.—CELEBRATED BY SIR THOMAS WIATT.—PROGRESS OF HENRY'S ATTACHMENT.

Anne's Apartment at Hever Castle—The Boleyn Family—Discord—Marriage of Percy—Henry visits Hever—Her Father promoted—Sir Wm. Carey—Anne returns to Court—Her Sentiments towards the King—Scholars at Court—Fineux Diplomacy—Lawyers—Poets and Authors—Wiatt and Surrey—Wiatt's Admiration of Anne—His Attentions—Wiatt a Protestant—The Jewel—Henry's Gallantry—The King—Correspondence—Henry's Letters—Anne's Prudence—A Game at Cards—Catherine's Forbearance—The Pope's Bull—Law of Divorce—Wolsey's Policy—Henry's Courtship.

On quitting the court, Anne Boleyn indignantly retired to her father's favourite residence at Hever Castle.* The aspect of this edifice, which had been originally built in the reign of

* Hever Castle, in Kent, derives its name from a Norman Baron, who, under Edward the Third, obtained the King's license to embattle his manor-house. By his daughters it was conveyed to the families of Cobham and Brown. The former having acquired the whole by purchase, sold it to Geoffrey Boleyn. On the death of Sir Thomas Boleyn, in 1538, Henry, with matchless rapacity, claimed it in right of a wife, from whom, previous to her being beheaded, he had been divorced. The manor was afterwards settled on the Lady Anne of Cleves; after her death, granted to Sir Edward Waldegrave, from whose family it passed to the Humphreys, and finally to the family of the Medleys in Sussex.

Edward the Third, was venerable and imposing. In its moated walls, its Gothic turrets, and military drawbridge, might be traced the same stern features of feudal magnificence which reigned in the majestic towers of Wresil Castle, that ancient seat of the Percies, of which she had so lately hoped to become the mistress. The entrance to this mansion was by a gateway, flanked with round towers, and protected by a portcullis; but hospitality reigned within that mansion, of which the approach was rude and uninviting. The spacious hall recalled the image of baronial festivity, and on the windows of the long winding gallery, Anne Boleyn might trace a series of heraldic honours, sufficiently illustrious to challenge alliance with the house of Percy. In her mother's right she beheld the four-coated shield of Howard, Brotherton, Warren, and Mowbray; whilst with still greater exultation she traced the eight quarters of Hoo, St. Omer, Malmains, Wickingham, St. Leger, Wallop, Ormond, that emblazoned her paternal escutcheon.* The wainscoted apartment which she occupied, with plain oaken panels, is yet in existence. The long gallery she so often traversed with impatience, still seems to re-echo her steps; and after the vicissitudes of three centuries, the

* The armorial bearings of the Boleyns, with an additional shield of the Waldgraves, are still preserved on the windows of the castle. For Ormond, there is argent, three buckles, gules; a shield of four coats for Brotherton, Howard, Warren, Mowbray; a shield of eight coats for Bulleyn, Hoo, St. Omer, Malmains, Wickingham, St. Leger, Wallop, Ormond.—Anne Boleyn's armorial bearings were originally—argent, a chevreux between three bull's heads, couped sable. When she was created Marchioness of Pembroke, these were disused, and another was granted.—See Sandford's Genealogical History of the Kings of England.

impression of her youth, her beauty, and singular destiny, remains fresh and vivid to the susceptible imagination. In reverting to the tragical history of the passions, we cease to measure the distance that separates us from a departed age; and whilst each surrounding object wears an antiquated aspect, we revert with lively interest to those records of suffering and feeling which can never become obsolete: the image of one, whose heart has long ceased to throb with human emotion, still speaks to our sympathies, and imperatively appeals to our pity or our justice.

The settlement of the Boleyns in this neighbourhood, originated with the prosperous citizen, Sir Geoffrey, who, not satisfied with having acquired the manor of Blickling, in Norfolk, secured to his heirs a retreat in Kent, by purchasing from the ancient family of the Grandisons the manor of Kemsing, including the villages of Hever, Scale, and Brocas. In the eyes of his successor, Sir William Boleyn, Rochford Hall possessed more attractions; but Sir Thomas, who probably found his revenue inadequate to the support of that stately mansion, eagerly embraced every opportunity to extend his Kentish demesnes; and having exchanged with the King, New Hall, in Essex, for certain rights of property in this county, he enlarged the bounds of Hever Castle, embellished the surrounding plantations, and finally selected it for his principal residence. It has been already observed, that the prosperity of Sir Geoffrey Boleyn was not transmitted to his descendants in equal proportions. Of the numerous daughters of Sir William Boleyn, one alone was raised to the honours of nobility, by marrying the Marquis of Dorset. Of his sons, the second settled in Norfolk; John entered the church; whilst Edward, like his eldest brother, Thomas, aspired

to preferment; and having married Jane Dacre, the heiress of Sir John Tempest, obtained a place at court, and, with his wife, attended in the suite of Henry and Catherine, at Guisnes.* Although the harmony of these two brothers appears not to have been interrupted, it was otherwise with their respective consorts, the Lady Edward, and the Lady Elizabeth Boleyn, in whose distaste to her sister-in-law, Anne is said to have strongly participated. Nor was much cordiality preserved in their intercourse with the Howards, since the name of Boleyn is not discovered in the list of visiters whose names are preserved among the domestic archives of Tendring Hall.† It is not surprising that the reign of Henry the Eighth should have been fruitful in examples of unnatural hostility among the nearest domestic connections. The atmosphere of his court was little favourable to the growth of those benevolent or tender affections, which never flourish amidst the perpetual alarms of jealousy, rivalry, and competition. The preferment that depends on the caprice of an arbitrary individual must often be unjustly withheld, or unworthily bestowed. Irritated by care and chagrin, the disappointed become suspicious,—the persecuted imbibe the spirit of malignity,—the desire of vengeance constitutes the hope and the solace of despair. Neither the ties of blood nor the sympathies of friendship afford protection from those baser passions incident to a state of moral and political degradation.

* See Pedigree in the Appendix. Lady Edward Boleyn, afterwards Lady of the Bedchamber to Queen Anne Boleyn, appears to have been envious of her niece's advancement.

† The chief residence of Thomas Earl of Surrey, afterwards Duke of Norfolk. An account-book is still extant, in which is a list of the visiters, with an account of every day's fare. See Nott's Life of Surrey.

Whilst Anne Boleyn was repining in exile, the situation of her lover was still more painful. It was not enough that he had been separated from the woman he adored. To satisfy the King's despotic passion, he must be compelled to pledge his faith to another bride; and finally the Lady Mary Talbot, the youthful daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury, was forced on his reluctant acceptance. The authority of his sovereign, or the pusillanimity of his father, prevailed over fidelity and love; and at the moment that his high-spirited mistress indulged dreams of hope and happiness, she was suddenly stunned by the intelligence, that Lord Percy was really married. It is easy to conceive how acutely she felt, how bitterly she resented, the injury; with what vehemence she accused the unfaithful lover, whose facility must have incurred contempt, even more than Wolsey or Henry had provoked abhorrence. Anne was of that ardent temper, which is too often betrayed to violence and injustice; but her resentments, though keen, were not permanent, nor could she be classed with those wary dissemblers, who brood over real or imaginary wrongs in vindictive silence. At this moment there is no reason to believe she divined the true source of her disappointment: even her father's sagacity appears not to have penetrated the mystery; and he probably attributed the royal interposition solely to that spirit of domination which he had long remarked in his jealous sovereign's character, of whom it was too justly predicted, that he would not scruple to *strike off even a favourite's head, if it obstructed* his views of advantage.*

* A saying of Sir Thomas More, in reply to the congratulation of his son-in-law, Roper, on his having received a visit from the King, who walked with him in his garden at Chelsea, putting his arm around his

According to local tradition,* however, the mist vanished from his eyes, when he suddenly saw the King arrive by stealth at Hever, on some frivolous pretext, which ill disguised his real errand, that he came but to steal a glimpse of the lovely Anne Boleyn. Alarmed by this marked attention, Sir Thomas is said to have sedulously withdrawn his daughter from the King's view, and during his visit, on the plea of indisposition, to have kept her confined to her chamber. Whatever credit be attached to this tale, it is certain that a considerable time intervened before Anne resumed her place at court;† and that her father, created Lord Viscount Rochford, was advanced to the office of treasurer of the royal household. By this elevation, however, no sinister suspicion could be awakened, since the long and faithful services of Sir Thomas Boleyn might have challenged a more liberal recompense; and even envy was silenced by a liberal distribution of similar favours on other courtiers. In the number of these new peers were two royal children; of whom the one, the offspring of the French Queen and the Duke of Suffolk, was created Earl of Lincoln; and the other, Henry's own son by Lady Tallbois, exalted to the dignity of Duke of Richmond

neck, and leaning familiarly on his shoulder: "I thank the King's Grace," said More; "but albeit he is a gracious prince, if my head could win him a castle in France, it would not long be on these shoulders."

* See the account of Hever Castle, in Hasted's Kent.

† See Cavendish, whose authority is quoted by Lord Herbert, and tacitly referred to by Bishop Godwin. It is also worthy of remark, that many of the details respecting Anne Boleyn, originally supplied by the former writer, who is well known to have been gentleman-usher to Cardinal Wolsey, are substantiated by the MS. of another gentleman resident in the family, which has been lately published in the Appendix of Dr. Nott's Life of Sir Thomas Wiatt.

and Somerset; an elevation by which he rather evinced fondness for his offspring than respect for his people.

Nor was it only in his own person that Sir Thomas Boleyn tasted of royal munificence: his son-in-law, Sir William Carey, was advanced to the post of gentleman of the privy chamber. Descended from an ancient family in Devonshire, this gentleman possessed hereditary claims on the gratitude of the House of Lancaster: his father had fought under its banner, till, by the fatal chance of war, falling into the hands of the Yorkists, he was ignominiously dragged from the sanctuary to the scaffold. Of his two sons, John, the elder, succeeded to the patrimonial demesnes;* whilst William, the younger, was, like Charles Brandon, patronized at court, and placed as an esquire about the King's person. In this situation it was his fortune to win the hand (contrary to her mother's will) of Mary Boleyn, whose fair blooming complexion, and lightbrown tresses, are said to have sometimes wrested from her sister the prize of beauty.†

At length Anne Boleyn was recalled to court; a summons that, it may be presumed, she awaited with impatience, not so

* Cockington, in Devonshire.—Sir John Carey was the progenitor of the celebrated Lucius Lord Falkland, who evinced such generous loyalty to Charles the First.

† A portrait of this lady is in existence at Warwick Castle. Mary Boleyn is always mentioned by historians as the younger sister; and, supposing Anne to have been born in 1507, must have married very early. Sanders, indeed, pretends that she was many years older than Anne, and had been previously seduced by Henry; but of this he can adduce no other proof than two or three declamatory passages in Cardinal Pole's letters, in which the absence of fact is attempted to be supplied by invective. It was obviously the object of the Catholic party to fix on Henry such suspicions as must invalidate the scriptural arguments in favour of his divorce. From a passage in one of Henry's let-

much because she sighed for pleasure, as because she longed to evince, by the gayety of her deportment, that she esteemed not her former lover worthy of regret. At this period it was scarcely possible she should have entertained for Henry any favourable sentiments: it may be doubted whether she even regarded, with complacency, the domestic tyrant, who already neglected that Queen, for whom, if we may credit her encomiastic biographer,* she was disposed to feel sincere attachment. Under other circumstances, she might have admired his majestic form, his animated countenance, and gallant deportment; but she could not easily forget that he had opposed her elevation, scarcely could she forgive that he had disparaged her alliance; and it may reasonably be supposed, that resentment lurked even in the smiles with which she met the King's expressive looks of pas-

ters to Anne Boleyn, it should seem that this Mary Boleyn, whose first husband died in 1528, had by some indiscretions forfeited her mother's regard: nothing, therefore, could be more apt for the fabrication of the calumny afterwards obtruded on notice; which, when coolly examined, is too preposterous to require refutation. Is it possible to believe, that Anne Boleyn would have been exposed by her parents to that seduction, which to her sister had already proved fatal? To suppose this, would almost be paramount to an admission of the disgusting story fabricated by Sanders, which even Cardinal Pole leaves unsupported. It is pretended, that Mary Boleyn, instigated by envy of her sister Anne's triumph, apprised Queen Catherine of her own intrigue, and that she consequently became the object of that sister's hatred; but it appears from the correspondence, that Henry himself, at the request of Anne, promised to intercede with her father to assist Mary Boleyn after her husband's death. By Sir William Carey she had two children: a son, who became Baron Hunsdon; and a daughter, who was married to Sir Philip Knolles. Mary Boleyn's second husband was Sir William Stafford. See Appendix.

* Wiatt.

sionate admiration. In Henry's court, she might also have discovered many men more accomplished than her despotic sovereign. At the very opening of his reign there had been a dawn of improvement, of which the progress was already perceptible: the nobility were then celebrated as the patrons of letters; they were now more honourably distinguished as the ornaments of literature; many of them were ambitious of literary eminence, and not a few deservedly admitted to literary fame.* The love of classical learning had revived in the clergy, by whose authority schools and colleges for the education of youth were raised, on the very site of monastic establishments. It is worthy of remark, that almost all Henry's satellites, however dissimilar in their habits, or their vocations, were confessedly men of approved diplomatic ability. To the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Worcester, and Sir Edward Poinings, were awarded the first honours in jousting. Audley,† Wriothesley,‡ and Fi-

* Bourchier Lord Berners translated Froissart's Chronicles; Parker Lord Morely left several poems: these were the precursors of George Boleyn, Wiatt, and the incomparable Surrey.

† After the death of Sir Thomas More, Sir Thomas Audley became chancellor, who appears to have been an excellent time-server. He supported the King's prerogative in parliament, and consulted the inclinations of the Queen-consort at court; choosing rather, according to Loyd, the *expedient than the lawful.*

"He enforced six bills against the clergy; 1. The extortion of their courts; 2. The exaction of their crops and mortuaries; 3. Their worldly occupations, as grazing, tanning; 4. Their merchandise; 5. Their non-residence; 6. Their pluralities. When custom was urged in favour of these abuses, Sir Thomas Audley replied, 'The usage hath ever been for thieves to rob at Shooter's Hill; is it therefore lawful?'"

‡ Thomas Wriothesley, afterwards Earl of Southampton, was born

neux,* acquired pre-eminence at the bar; but (with the exception of Sir Anthony Cooke†) there was scarcely one of his confidants

in the Barbican. Loyd praises him extravagantly; but that he was detested as the instrument of Henry's cruelty and oppression, appears from the following lines, written by one of the Earl of Surrey's friends:—

From vile estate, of base and low degree,
By false deceit, by craft, and subtle ways;
Of mischief mould, and key of cruelty,
Was crept full high, borne up by sundry stayes;
Picture of pride, of papistry the plat,
In whom treason as in a throne did sit,
With ireful eye, or glearing like a cat;
Killing by spight whom he thought fit to hit;
This day is dead,—his soul is down to hell.

Nott's Life of Surrey.

* Sir John Fineux, born at Swinkfield, in Kent, of obscure origin; he had engraven on his sergeant's ring the motto, "*Suæ quisque fortunæ faber;*" and it was his saying, "that no man thrived, but he that lived as if he were the first man in the world, and his father were not born before him." Forty years (says Loyd) he lived by industry. Under Henry the Seventh he was a patriot; and having resisted the imposition of the penny tax, the King, respecting or fearing his talents, made him a judge, and showered on him preferment. Sir John Fineux appears to have improved every advantage; since he married a rich wife, and was steward for one hundred and twenty-nine manors. The most honourable part of his character is, that he opposed the exactions of Empson and Dudley.

† Sir Anthony Cooke, of mercantile extraction, was born at Giddy Hall, in Essex. His daughter Mildred was married to Cecil, the Lord Treasurer; his daughter Anne to Nicholas Bacon, Lord Chancellor; like Sir Thomas More, he determined to qualify his daughters to become companions to men of sense. Lord Seymour was so much struck with

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single condition,—that they should maintain with the minister a private circumstantial correspondence, by which he was enabled to form a correct opinion of their comparative talents and discretion. Of the youths thus trained, many arrived at the first honours of the state, and all acquired a polish of manner and an aptness in conversation, which rendered them the ornaments of society. Henry had, at his accession, found but one lawyer in the privy council. In this respect he deviated wisely from his father's system: under Wolsey's active superintendence the forensic profession rose in general estimation; and the bar became the nursery of the senate and the council.

It is remarkable that Sir Thomas More and Sir Anthony Cooke coincided in their ideas on the subject of female education, and harmonized in their views of domestic felicity. Among the more illustrious courtiers there were some who still remained to support the dignity and splendour of the throne: of these, Sir Edward Poinings, who had been elected one of the presiding judges of the tournament at Guisnes, was the bravest cavalier, and Sir John Russell, Earl of Bedford, the most accomplished gentleman. Of the numerous diplomatists, Dr. Wotton* and

* Dr. Wotton went on thirteen embassies to foreign princes; a man of singular wisdom and modesty. Henry the Eighth once said to him, "Sir, I have sent a head by Cromwell, a purse by Wolsey, a sword by Brandon, and I must now send the law by *you*, to treat with my enemies."—"Many," says Loyd, "envied this happy man; but none could do without him, who could sum up the merit of any cause, recollect the circumstances of any affair, and show tables of trade, commerce, situation, revenue, interest, the readiest and exactest of any in England." Wotton appears to have possessed a happy facility in his religious opinions; since he had the favour of Henry, the confidence of the council; belonged to Mary's junta, and to Elizabeth's statesmen.

Sir Thomas Boleyn were constantly in requisition. Sir William Paget attracted most esteem abroad; and Sir Robert Morison,* "who was equally alert in a dance, a tourney, and a treaty, gained most favour at home." Nor must mention be omitted of Sir Ralph Sadler, the only one, if we may believe the epigrammatic Loyd, in whose favour Henry the Eighth waived his objection to little men.†

In adverting to the learned and ingenious men of the day, it might be invidious to overlook poets and authors, were they not almost uniformly identified with scholars and theologians. That our native literature was still neglected, is evident; since Sir Thomas More, and many other ingenious men, continued to write in a language familiar only to the learned reader. The living spring of English poetry, at which Chaucer had slaked his thirst for immortality, was neglected—almost forgotten. Skelton‡ was the fashionable poet, whose uncouth rhymes owed their point and their popularity rather to malice than to wit.§ Of the

* Sir R. Morison was distinguished by the superior elegance of his Latin discourses. Tall and majestic, he was precisely such a man as Henry the Eighth wished to make his representative.

† Sir Ralph Sadler was born at Hackney: he became the retainer of Cromwell, who had been the servant of Wolsey, and was by Henry appointed secretary of state. Versatility and activity were his distinguishing qualities: he knew how to fight and to write; and was equally able as a civilian and a negotiator. When this knight attended Cromwell to Rome, his servant kindly purchased a pardon for the sins of his master and all his descendants, to the third generation.—See Fuller and Loyd.

‡ The poet laureat: who, although he satirized Wolsey, panegyrized the customs and manners of the female nobility.

§ Hawes was also popular; as was Barclay, the translator of Argenis

ancient minstrelsy some relics still existed in fragments of ballads or songs, of which the pathos and simplicity bespoke a welcome from every heart.

Amidst this desolation of the native muse, it was reserved for two or three young men, of gentle blood and liberal fortune, to rebuild the altars and restore the schools of English poetry. Of these, the most active and successful were Sir Thomas Wiatt and the Earl of Surrey, the one the cousin, the other the impassioned admirer of Anne Boleyn.

In the education of Wiatt was included whatever was held to be necessary to the formation of an accomplished gentleman. His early childhood had been devoted to classical studies, and gymnastic exercises. At eighteen he travelled, and at twenty returned to England, endowed with every personal and mental quality that could excite the envy of one sex, or inspire enthusiasm in the other. From his cradle he had been destined for the court: his father, Sir Henry Wiatt, descended from an ancient Kentish family, having filled with reputation several departments in the royal household, easily obtained for his son the appointment of gentleman of the privy chamber; but the young poet was formed for better things. Born on the banks of the Medway, he had spent his early childhood at Allington Castle, amidst such romantic scenery, as, when nature has given sensibility, affords healthful nourishment to the poetical character. His education was not only suited to his station, but happily calculated to elicit his talents. In devouring the classical pages of Greece and Rome, he imbibed the spirit, he received the vaticidal inspiration which is only to be communicated or received by kindred genius His first efforts were made in Latin verse; but observing that France and Italy possessed living poets, and

a national lay, he patriotically resolved to dedicate his pen to the restoration of English literature, and to devote his ambition to the honour of his country.

Wiatt is first mentioned by the court-chroniclers in 1525, when he was promoted, with William Carey, already mentioned, to the rank of gentleman of the privy chamber; and, according to the custom of the day, exhibited his prowess and his gallantry in a tourney and a masque, with which the King was well satisfied. At this spectacle, Anne Boleyn appears not to have been present; and as Wiatt notoriously held in contempt these puerile entertainments,* he was, perhaps, little disposed to relish his official duties, till they were soothed and enlivened by her presence. At what precise time they became acquainted is not known; but he has recorded in a short poem the impressions which he received, and accompanied his description of her countenance with an intimation that he would fain be at liberty to bind himself to her for ever.†

Unfortunately, by the care of a provident father, the poet had been tied to the daughter of Lord Cobham, at an age when he could neither form a rational choice, nor hope to inspire a lasting attachment; but this circumstance precluded not his address-

* Wiatt, being once pressed by Henry to appear at a masque, replied, "Truly a man is not so wise by day, that he should play the fool at night."

† "The knight, in the beginning, coming to behold the sudden appearance of this new bewtie, came to be holden and surprised somewhat with the sight thereof. After much more, with her graceful and wittie speeches, his eare also had been chained to her, so as finally his heart seemed to say, 'I could gladly yield to be tied for ever with the knot of her love,' as somewhere in his verses he has been thought to express."—See the Life of Queen Anne Bolen.

ing another lady in the language of Platonic love. There were few young beauties who were not, or who sought not to be, the objects of a fictitious passion, often assumed from motives of vanity, or policy, according to the worldly situation of the respective parties. Under the fanciful names of Mistress and Servant, ample license was allowed to breathe sentiments of a more tender nature: nor, by this, so long as the female party should remain unmarried, was the least injury offered to her reputation. Till that period, it was her undoubted privilege, like Chaucer's Æmilia, to tolerate the adoration of contending knights, and accept the oblations of unnumbered suitors; to listen to vows she was expected to contemn; to accept of gifts not to be repaid; to authorize efforts and sacrifices never to be requited; —all this was permitted to a beauty, without attaint or blemish to her maiden fame: but if she once allowed herself to depart from the passive system that custom prescribed to her sex,—if she suffered her champion to wear in public some token of her special favour, as a riband, a glove, or any other memorial of tender attachment,—from that moment her discretion was compromised, her character impeached; such concessions being authorized only when the suitor was an honourable lover, to whom she was eventually to pledge her faith at the hymeneal altar.

Accustomed from infancy to the language of adulation, Anne Boleyn was not disposed, even for such a man as Wiatt, to outstep the limits of female decorum. She could not, however, be displeased to see herself distinguished by one of the most attractive and accomplished men of the age; and was, perhaps, rather tempted to invite than to reject his flattering attentions. Proud of the songs she inspired, she might, perhaps, have sym-

pathized in the feelings they expressed, had not discretion found an auxiliary in pride, and ambition fortified those sentiments of honour which she unquestionably possessed. But we are told that "though she rejected all his speach of love, it was in such a sort as whatsoever tended to regard of her honour, she shewed not to scorn. For the general favor and good will she perceived al men to bear him, which might the rather occasion others to turn their looks to that in her, which a man of his worth was wrought to gaze at."*

It was impossible but that the society of such a man as Wiatt should have essentially contributed to the developement of her talents and taste; and it was from him, probably, rather than the Queen of Navarre, that she imbibed her partiality for the new opinions. It cannot be said that Wiatt was the partisan of Luther: his opinions were rather derived from Wickliffe, and the elder reformers, who had detected the corruptions, and resisted the usurpations of the Romish hierarchy. Without investigating the subject as a theologian, Wiatt had an intuitive conviction, that infallibility could not reside in any individual, or assembly of individuals, and that the enormous prerogatives which under these pretensions had been assumed and exercised, were founded on superstition and usurpation. To his acute discernment no argument could be necessary to enforce the conviction, that the influence of an unmarried body of clergy, an order of men bound to society by none of its domestic charities and affections, was inimical to the morals and happiness of the community. As an Englishman, he indignantly disclaimed that allegiance to any foreign potentate implied in the rights of papal supremacy, and which he held to be subversive of nationa.

* Wiatt's Queen Anne Bolen.

dignity and independence. Thus the heresy of Wiatt originated in patriotism, and he gloried in resisting the Pope, and in proclaiming the freedom of his country.

Against Wolsey, as the gigantic Atlas that upheld the ponderous fabric of ecclesiastical power, he cherished an acrimony of feeling (strikingly contrasted with the amenity of his general character*) which, perhaps, conspired with his fine qualities to make a favourable impression on Anne Boleyn. Of all who approached her, Wiatt appears to have been most worthy to win her confidence; though a poet and a courtier, he despised the arts of flattery, and the sinister meanness of adulation. Many of his witticisms have been transmitted to us; but amongst them we find not a single compliment addressed to his lady or his sovereign. The independence and originality of his mind, communicated to his sentiments an energy almost irresistible; and whether he conversed with the youthful Earl of Surrey, with the accomplished George Boleyn, or with his beloved sister, he was to each and to all a monitor, a guardian, and a dictator. In the progress of their romantic intimacy, the *professed servant* appears to have insensibly become the *real* friend; and thus an intercourse originating in frivolous gallantry was exalted into an honourable and faithful attachment.

In the mean while, Henry, no indifferent observer of Anne Boleyn's movements, shortly after her return to court had taken an opportunity to present to her a valuable jewel, which was

* Such was Wiatt's benevolence, that he delighted to recommend another to notice and favour; and so many were indebted to his good offices with the King, that, on occasion of any sudden preferment, it became the current saying, "that such-an-one had been in Sir Thomas Wiatt's closet."

accepted and worn without reserve.* No impropriety was attached to such attentions: on various occasions, it was even a point of etiquette for the cavalier to offer gifts to the lady whom he admired or celebrated, *pro tempore*, as his *mistress*.† Even the repetition of such favours was not alarming to virgin modesty; and whether Anne divined or mistook the King's purpose, she affected to be wholly free from suspicion. But when, encouraged by this forbearance, Henry ventured on an undisguised avowal of his passion, she replied with scorn, in the words of Lady Elizabeth Grey, that "she was too good to be a King's mistress."‡ Apologies and concessions followed; and, finally, the haughty Henry was content to enter the list with Wiatt and other obsequious admirers, as her cavalier and servant. The following minute detail of these Platonic rivals offers a curious picture of polite society at the commencement of the sixteenth century.§

* Sanders, Heylin, &c.

† This custom long continued to be prevalent during certain public festivals. In the time of Cromwell, Whitelock, after the manner of an English cavalier with his mistress, gave a treat to Queen Christina of Sweden, on May-day.

‡ Anne's rejection of the King's (first dishonourable) overture is mentioned both by her advocate Heylin, and her calumniator Sanders.

§ Nothing like precision or accuracy is attempted in the traditional little work, from which this passage is extracted. But the anecdotes it contains appear to have been originally furnished by Sir Thomas Wiatt and his contemporaries. In the middle of the seventeenth century, they were collected by one of his descendants, but without the least attention to chronological arrangement. It is therefore impossible to ascertain at what period the King presented the ring to Anne Boleyn; a ceremony which, had it been performed before witnesses, would have been equivalent to a formal betrothment. It will, however,

"About this time, it is said, that the knight (Wiatt) entertaynge talk with her, as she was earnest at work, and sportingewise caught from her a certin small jewel, hanginge by a lace out of her pocket, or otherwise loose, which he thrust into his bosom; neither with any earnest request could she obtain it from him againe: he kept it, therefore, and wore it after about his neck under his cassoque, promising to himself either to have it with her favor, or as an occasion to have talk with her, wherin he had singular delight; and she after seemed not to make much recconinge of it, either the thinge not beinge much worth, or not woorth much strivinge for. The noble prince having a watchful eie upon the knight, noting him more to hover about the lady, and she more to keepe aloof of him, was whetted the more to discover to her his affection, so as rather, he liked first to try, of what temper the regard of her honor was, which he finding not any way to be tainted with those things his kingly majestie and means could bringe to the batterie, he in the end fell to win her by treaty of marriage; and in this talk took from her a ring, and that ware upon his littel finger; and yet al this with such a secresie was carried, and on her part so wisely, as none, or verie few, esteemed this other than an ordinarie cours of dalliance. Within few daise after, it happened that the king, sporting himself at bowles, had in his company, as it falls out, divers noblemen and other courtiers of account; amongst whom

be found, that the statement of Wiatt is confirmed by the testimony even of those foreign and English writers who have most laboured to traduce her reputation; and it is remarkable that Bp. Burnet, to whom he appears to have been personally known, in his History of the Reformation refers to this identical manuscript, and in his refutation of Sanders quotes his authority.

might be the Duke of Suffolk, Sir F. Brian, and Sir T. Wyatt; himself being more than ordinarie pleasantly disposed, and in his game takinge an occasion to affirm a cast to be his, that plainly appeared to be otherwise; those on the other side sayed, with his grace's leave they thought not; and yet stil he, pointinge with his finger whereon he ware her ringe, replied often, it was his, especially to the knight, he said, 'Wyat, I tel thee, it is *mine,*' smiling upon him withal. Sir Thomas, at the lengthe, casting his eye upon the king's finger, perceived that the king ment the lady, whose ring that was which he wel knew, and paused a littel; and finding the kinge bent to pleasure, after the words repeated again by the kinge, the knight replied, and if it may like your majestie to give me leave to measure it, I hope it will be *mine,* and withal took from his neck the lase, whereat hung the tablet, and therewith stooped to measure the caste, which the king espiinge knew, and had seen her wear; and withal sporned away the bowle, and said, 'It may be so; but then I am deceived,' and so broke up the game. This thing, thus carried, was not perceived of many, but of some few it was. Now the king resortinge to his chamber, shewing some resentment in his countenance, found means to break this matter to the lady, who with good and evident proofe how the knight came by the jewel, satisfied the king so effectually, that this more confirmed the king's opinion of her truth and virtue, than himself at the first could have expected."*

* On the circumstance related in this anecdote appears to have been founded the ridiculous story, quoted from Sanders, by several French and Spanish writers, and repeated by Davanzati in his Schisma d'Inghilterra; in which it is pretended, that Wiatt confessed to King Henry, that he had carried on a criminal intrigue with Anne Boleyn. It is

The correspondence of Henry with Anne Boleyn enables us more distinctly to trace the progress of their courtship. The three following letters appear to have been written in an initial stage of the connection, almost before Henry had shaped to himself a definite object, or Anne thought it prudent to confide in his unqualified professions of attachment.*

LETTER I.

(Translated from the French.)†

My mistress and friend;—I and my heart put ourselves into your hands, begging you to recommend us to your favour, and not to let absence lessen your affection to us. For it were

often the fate of calumny to confute itself: had Wiatt ever made this impudent avowal, it is impossible that Henry should have allowed him to remain at court; where, however, he continued in great favour, long after Anne's coronation.

* By the agency of some treacherous domestic, these letters were stolen from Anne Boleyn's cabinet, and conveyed to the Vatican at Rome; where they were detected by Bp. Burnet, who procured a copy, afterwards published in the Harleian Miscellany, the editor of which, in attempting to fix the precise period at which they were written, falls into the mistake of Burnet, in assuming as a fact, that Anne Boleyn came not into England until the year 1527; and that these letters were all written in 1528. Without reiterating the arguments already adduced to prove that Anne must have come to England many years sooner, it is easy to discover, that the letters were not written consecutively, but at different intervals, and on various occasions. In the four which are here introduced, no allusion is made to the legate, so often mentioned in the others; whence it may fairly be presumed, that they were antecedent to the negotiation respecting the divorce.

† See the original French at the end of the volume.

great pity to increase our pain, which absence alone does sufficiently, and more than ever I could have thought; bringing to my mind a point of astronomy, which is, that the farther the Mores* are from us, the farther too is the sun, and yet his heat is the more scorching: so it is with our love; we are at a distance from one another, and yet it keeps its fervency, at least on my side. I hope the like on your part, assuring you, that the uneasiness of absence is already too severe for me; and when I think of the continuance of that, which I must of necessity suffer, it would seem intolerable to me, were it not for the firm hope I have of your unchangeable affection for me; and now, to put you sometimes in mind of it, and seeing I cannot be present in person with you, I send you the nearest thing to that possible, that is, my picture set in bracelets, with the whole device, which you know already, wishing myself in their place, when it shall please you. This from the hand of

Your servant and friend,

H. Rex.

LETTER II.

To my mistress;

Because the time seems to me very long, since I have heard from you, or concerning your health; the great affection I have for you has obliged me to send this bearer to be better informed, both of your health and pleasure, particularly, because, since my

* The inexplicability of this passage ought perhaps to be attributed to some blunder in the transcriber; since Henry, though often pedantic, is on other occasions perfectly intelligible. The original letters in Henry's own hand are still extant in the Vatican, to which they were restored after the re-establishment of the Bourbons in France.

last parting with you, I have been told, that you have entirely changed the opinion in which I left you, and that you would neither come to court with your mother, nor any other way; which report, if true, I cannot enough wonder at, being persuaded in my own mind, that I have never committed any offence against you; and it seems a very small return for the great love I bear you, to be kept at a distance from the person and presence of the woman in the world that I value the most; and, if you love me with as much affection as I hope you do, I am sure, the distance of our two persons would be a little uneasy to you. Though this does not belong so much to the mistress as the servant, consider well, my mistress, how greatly your absence grieves me; I hope it is not your will that it should be so; but, if I heard for certain, that you yourself desired it, I could do no other than complain of my ill fortune, and by degrees abate my great folly; and so, for want of time, I make an end of my rude letter, desiring you to give credit to this bearer in all he will tell you from me. Written by the hand of your entire servant.

Letter III.

By turning over in my thoughts the contents of your last letters, I have put myself into a great agony, not knowing how to understand them, whether to my disadvantage, as I understand some others, or not: I beseech you now, with the greatest earnestness, to let me know your whole intention, as to the love between us two. For I must of necessity obtain this answer of you, having been above a whole year struck with the dart of love, and not yet sure whether I shall fail, or find a place in your heart and affection. This uncertainty has hindered me of

late from naming you my mistress, since you only love me with an ordinary affection; but if you please to do the duty of a true and loyal mistress, and to give up yourself, body and heart, to me, who will be, as I have been, your most loyal servant (if your rigour does not forbid me), I promise you that not only the name shall be given you, but also that I will take you for my mistress, casting off all others that are in competition with you, out of my thoughts and affection, and serving you only. I beg you to give an entire answer to this my rude letter, that I may know on what and how far I may depend. But, if it does not please you to answer me in writing, let me know some place where I may have it by word of mouth, and I will go thither with all my heart. No more, for fear of tiring you. Written by the hand of him, who would willingly remain yours,

H. Rex.

Letter IV.

To the same.

For a present so valuable, that nothing could be more (considering the whole of it), I return you my most hearty thanks, not only on account of the costly diamond, and the ship in which the solitary damsel is tossed about; but chiefly for the fine interpretation and too humble submission which your goodness hath made to me. For I think it would be very difficult for me to find an occasion to deserve it, if I was not assisted by your great humanity and favour, which I have sought, do seek, and will always seek to preserve by all the services in my power, and this is my firm intention and hope, according to the motto, *aut illic aut nullibi* (either here or nowhere). The demonstra-

tions of your affections are such, the fine thoughts of your letter so cordially expressed, that they oblige me for ever to honour, love, and serve you sincerely, beseeching you to continue in the same firm and constant purpose; and assuring you, that, on my part, I will not only make you a suitable return, but outdo you in loyalty of heart, if it be possible. I desire you also, that, if at any time before this I have in any sort offended you, you would give me the same absolution that you ask, assuring you, that hereafter my heart shall be dedicated to you alone. I wish my body was so too: God can do it, if he pleases, to whom I pray once a day for that end, hoping that at length my prayers will be heard. I wish the time may be short; but I shall think it long till we shall see one another. Written by the hand of the secretary, who, in heart, body, and will, is

Your loyal,

And most assured servant.

From these letters it is evident that Henry not only loved but esteemed his mistress. Impressed with admiration and respect for her mental endowments, he displays all his wit and learning, conscious that he is addressing one by whom they will be duly appreciated. In the course of this correspondence, Henry is said to have declared his intentions to the lady's father, "to whom," adds the biographer, "we may be assured, the newes was not a littel joyful." By Anne herself, however, if we may credit his assertion, the persuasion was admitted with reluctance: "She stood stil upon her guard, and was not, as we would suppose, so easily taken with al this apparance of happines: whereof two things appeared to be the causes; the one the love she bare ever to the Queen, whom she served, that was also a personage of

greate virtue; the other, her conceit, that ther was not that freedom of conjunction with one that was her lord and king, as with one more agreeable to her."

Allowing for the exaggerations of an encomiast, it is impossible to withhold from Anne Boleyn the praise of consummate prudence and discretion. By her father, she had probably been apprised of the rumour already prevailing on the continent, that Henry intended to solicit the Pope for a divorce, on the plea of having contracted an illegal marriage: if this were true, Anne might with plausibility aspire to the throne; if it were false, she should at least preserve her self-respect, and escape the contempt invariably attached to frailty. A high sense of moral and religious duty might have impelled her to reject the boon, that must be purchased by invading another's right,—to renounce an honour never to be obtained without ingratitude and injustice. But it should be remembered, that the character of Anne was not formed on the pure simplicity of gospel precepts; nor had she learnt, like the daughters of a Cooke or a More, to place her happiness in intellectual pursuits, and the endearments of domestic affection. Images of splendour and greatness were the objects first presented to her infant eyes; and it was one of the earliest lessons imprinted on her mind, that they could scarcely be obtained at too dear a price.

In that age of mingled profligacy and superstition, the beauties of the court seldom escaped reproach.* Anne aspired to the praise of unblemished chastity, and in this distinction, with reason, triumphed. If she identified pride with dignity, or mistook the impulses of vanity and ambition for the aspirations of piety

* The injured Duchess of Norfolk, in complaining of her husband's cruelty and infidelity, observes, that she had lived fifteen years at court, and, in all that time, preserved her reputation.

and virtue, she had unhappily the whole corps of English nobility to sanction and confirm the delusion; and candour demands that her actions be judged according to the same moral standard, by which praise or blame is measured to her rivals and contemporaries.

It was not long before Catherine perceived the secret intelligence between her husband and her attendant, whom she often challenged to play with her at cards, in the royal presence; willing, as was supposed,* to give the enamoured Prince an opportunity of contemplating the supplemental nail, which, to her prejudiced eyes, appeared an ominous deformity. On one of these occasions, Catherine, by a sort of caustic pleasantry, alluded to their mutual situation. In the game at which she was playing with Anne Boleyn, it was a rule, in dealing the cards, to stop on turning up the king or queen: it happened that the maid of honour stopped more than once on producing the king, which Catherine remarking, exclaimed, "My Lady Anne, you have good luck to stop at a king: but you are not like others; you will have all or none."* In general, the Queen treated her with the utmost courtesy and respect; partly, as she afterwards acknowledged, because she was determined, by her forbearing gentleness, to deprive Henry of every pretext for complaint, and partly because she hoped by complaisance to retain some little hold on his affections. In reality, her mild submission appears for a considerable time to have disarmed the violence of Henry's impetuous temper; and, but for some peculiar circumstances, might, perhaps, have obtained the victory, even over a feeling ardent as that inspired by Anne Boleyn.

It is well known, that the strong and unchangeable passion

* Wiatt.

of Henry's soul was to transmit the crown to his immediate posterity. From childhood, he had bestowed gratuitous hatred on all who approached the verge of a disputable succession. As his despotism increased, his suspicions redoubled: even the feeble claims of Buckingham had aroused his jealous vengeance; and in this view Yorkists and Lancastrians became equally the objects of his abhorrence. Sensible that a female must carry the succession into another family, he had long passionately desired a male heir, through whom the supremacy of the Tudor line might be triumphantly perpetuated, and whose claim should silence competition, and compel allegiance. Unused to constraint or opposition, he contemplated with fretful impatience the reiterated disappointment of his favourite object: and since the blessing he asked in vain was denied to no other prince in Europe, he began to regard, with superstitious aversion, the consort from whom he no longer hoped to obtain its accomplishment.

The state of his feelings had been long since divulged to Wolsey, who, guessing his aim, in 1524, published, by virtue of his legatine mandate, the Pope's Bull against marriages contracted within forbidden degrees. Whether Henry's secret solicitude was in some degree appeased by this preliminary step towards the recovery of his liberty, or whether his alliance with Charles convinced him of the impossibility of dissolving his union with Catherine, it appears, that he never explicitly avowed his determination till he had conceived a serious passion for Anne Boleyn.*

Originally it had formed no part of Henry's plan, to raise a private gentlewoman to the throne: and he had almost as strong an impediment to combat in his own pride, as in the constancy

* See Cavendish.

of his mistress; but no sooner had love prevailed, than even pride conspired with native obstinacy to promote the interests of his passion; and having once pledged his word, he resolved to hold it sacred, even though he should hazard by it the loss of his kingdom. To make this promise was easy; but it required all the vehemence of the lover, all the inflexibility of the tyrant, to surmount the obstacles that opposed its fulfilment. Hitherto, indeed, the court of Rome had offered to princes a commodious relief for the evils of an ill-assorted marriage, since, in the complexity of the Ecclesiastical Canons, some pretext of consanguinity, or plausible irregularity, was easily discovered, for redressing the grievance. It imported little to the admission of such claims that they were founded in equity or truth. Within Henry's own existence, the Romish tribunal had authorized Louis the Twelfth of France to repudiate a blameless wife, that he might espouse the heiress of Brittany. More recently, Henry's own sister, Margaret, had obtained a divorce from the Earl of Angus, on the plea of prior contract: she had since espoused Lord Stewart, and was again a suitor for the abrogation of her nuptial vows.

Unfortunately for Henry, the unimpeachable conduct of Catherine left him no alternative but to rest his plea on the canonical prohibition against marrying a brother's widow. More unfortunately still, that objection had been previously obviated by a papal bull of dispensation, especially granted for the marriage with Catherine, and consequently he had no better resource than to impugn the authority of one Pope, at the very moment he was soliciting the assistance of another; a *strange solecism* in the Defender of the Faith, the avowed champion of the church against the heretical innovations of Luther! It was impossible that Henry should entirely close his eyes to the complicated

difficulties and impediments of his undertaking; and even to Wolsey he appears not to have communicated the ultimate object of the enterprise, but to have confined himself to the question of divorce, without reference to Anne Boleyn. Whether the cardinal was entirely the dupe of his artifice, must be left to conjecture. To gratify his sovereign, he frequently gave entertainments, at which the object of his affection was present,* and where, alternately with her lute, her voice, and her exquisite grace, she exerted all her powers of fascination, and intoxicated his senses with delight. By his admiration, however ardent, the cardinal was, perhaps, the less alarmed, from having previously witnessed similar attentions to Lady Talbois; concluding that, as in that instance, a dishonourable intrigue was to terminate the connection. On some occasions, he had, perhaps, observed in Anne Boleyn an air of coquetry and levity, which impressed him with unjust suspicions of her real character; but Wolsey was not present during those more private interviews, when Henry saw his mistress in the bosom of her family, and when, having gladly escaped from the court at Eltham or Greenwich, he mounted his fleetest steed, and, accompanied by two or three confidental attendants (among whom were Norris and Weston†), rode towards Hever.

* "The Cardinal espying the great zeal that the King had conceived in this gentlewoman, ordered himself to please as well the King as her; dissimuling the matter that lay hid in his breast, and prepared great banquettes and high feastes to entertaine the King and her at his own house. And thus the world began to grow to wonderful inventions, not heard of before in this realme. Love betwixt the King and this gorgeous lady grewe to such perfection, that divers imaginations were imagined, whereof I leave here to speake." Cavendish's Life of Wolsey. See Wordsworth's Edition.

† Afterwards beheaded.

Tradition still points to the hill in front of the castle, where the well known bugle announced the King's approach, and his impatience to be admitted to the beloved presence. At this welcome signal, the drawbridge lowered, the gates were thrown open, and Henry found all his constraint and trouble overpaid by a single glance exchanged with Anne Boleyn. In these happier moments, when, dismissing the tyrant and the sovereign, he was surprised sometimes into feelings of tenderness and benevolence, with what horror would he have recoiled from the awful visions of futurity! with what indignation rejected the prophecy, that he should hereafter destroy the woman whom he then adored,—that he should listen impatiently for the gun which was to proclaim the stroke of death, and look with eagerness for the fatal flag, which was to assure him she breathed no more!*

* There is a tradition, that the King went from Richmond to a spot where he could hear the guns, and discern the black flag, that announced Anne Boleyn's execution.

CHAPTER VI.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE PROCESS OF DIVORCE.

Wolsey's State—His Disappointment—Battle of Pavia—Dr. Pace—Wolsey's Intrigues—Siege of Rome—Negotiations with Francis I.—Wolsey's Mission to France—His Return—Opinions of the Bishops—Anne hated by Wolsey—Her Protestantism—Her Letter to Wolsey—Reasons for Anne's Conduct—Her good qualities—Wiatt's Poems—Henry Howard—George Boleyn—Embassy from France—Banquet—The King's Tent—His Treat—Almoner Fox—Gardiner—Henry's Letter—Cardinal Campeggio—Henry's Duplicity—His Scruples—Relations of Catherine and Anne—Catherine's Popularity—The Sweating Sickness—Sir William Carey—Sickness of Anne—Her Recovery—Discontent of the People—Anne leaves the Court—Position of Henry—Henry's Letters to Anne—Cardinal Campeggio's Negotiations—Illness of the Pope—The Consistorial Court—Pathetic Address of Catherine—She denies the jurisdiction and quits the Court.

DURING a long series of years, Cardinal Wolsey had been the envied favourite of fortune, contending with monarchs in power, and surpassing them in magnificence.

The establishment of his household was truly regal;* and

* Three tables were served in his hall within the palace. In his kitchen presided a master-cook, habited in a suit of velvet or satin, and decorated with a chain of gold: a superfluous population of yeomen and grooms swarmed in each department, having under them a troop of menials, by whom its duties were effectively executed. The chapel was served with a dean, and forty persons of various denominations. Eight hundred individuals are said to have been in his household.

whenever he left his palace, it was with the air of a conqueror who demanded a triumph. During term-time, his daily progress to Westminster Hall was watched and hailed like the pageant of a public festival. Habited in crimson robes, with a tippet of black sables about his neck, he mounted, with a semblance of apostolical humility, a mule trapped in crimson velvet. Before him were borne in state the symbols of his authority:—first was displayed the broad seal of England; the cardinal's hat was then exhibited; two red crosses next attracted the eye; and beyond marched two pillar-bearers in solemn state;* on either side rode nobles and gentlemen; whilst four footmen preceded the cardinal's mule, each presenting the gilt poleaxe, the ensign of justice, to the awe-stricken spectator. Wherever the sublime Legate approached, he was greeted with spontaneous obeisance; "On, on, my masters!" was vociferated from every quarter: "Room for the Cardinal! make way for my Lord Cardinal!" On alighting at the Hall, he was surrounded by numerous suitors, to whom he assumed an air of courtesy, rather condescending than gracious; and it was observed that he often applied to his nostrils

* This procession is thus described by Skelton:—

With worldly pomp incredible,
Before him rideth two prestes stronge,
And they bear two crosses right longe,
Gapynge in every man's face:
After them follow two laymen secular,
And eache of them holdinge a pillar,
In their handes stead of a mace.
Then followeth my lord on his mule,
Trapped with gold.
Then hath he servants five or six score,
Some behind and some before.

a hollow orange, filled with sponge steeped in aromatics and vinegar, avowedly to protect himself from contagion. Owing to a defect of sight, his looks seemed averted from the misery which sometimes reached his ear without touching his heart. Such was Wolsey, the butcher's son,—the Boy Bachelor of Magdalen College,— the adventurer of Calais! Every morning witnessed the renewal of these honours, and every night he retired to rest, fatigued, if not satisfied, with the incense of adulation.

Under this flattering exterior of felicity, a secret discontent corroded the cardinal's breast; and all the prosperity of his former life, perhaps, scarcely counterbalanced the mortification he experienced, when to Adrian succeeded Julius de' Medici in the papacy; an event which at once disclosed to him the Emperor's ingratitude, and his own credulous facility. To aggravate his chagrin, fortune continued to smile on Charles, who triumphed by the very means he had used to arrest his progress, and obscure his glory.

By an article of the treaty contracted between Charles and Henry, it was stipulated that the latter should furnish a monthly subsidy to the Duke of Bourbon, who commanded the imperial troops in Italy, and depended on this supply for their subsistence. At the end of the first campaign (in 1524), Wolsey, who had already entered into a secret correspondence with an agent in the interest of France, recalled the English troops, and privately withheld the money so anxiously expected.

In this emergency the Duke of Bourbon, with the courage of desperation, attacked the French army, and obtained the celebrated victory of Pavia, in which Francis "lost all but life and honour." It was, perhaps, not the least galling of Wolsey's chagrins, that he had publicly to celebrate mass in honour of a

monarch who repaid his services with unkindness and contempt. Fortunately for the cardinal, Henry, who piqued himself on preserving the equilibrium of power, became alarmed at the progress of his ally, and readily agreed to enter into clandestine engagements with the Regent Louisa, to effect the liberation of her son, and to preserve untouched the integrity of the French empire.

It is a melancholy reflection, that, in civilized as in barbarous nations, the most unoffending or meritorious individuals are often the victims immolated to the insatiable spirit of conquest, or the calculations of sordid policy. Of this truth, one of the best scholars of the age, Dr. Richard Pace (the meritorious successor to Dean Colet, at St. Paul's), was destined to become the unfortunate example. Eminently distinguished by that elegance and delicacy of taste which seem in unison with correct moral feeling, he had attracted Henry's notice by the purity and eloquence of his Latin compositions; and was frequently employed by him as a diplomatic agent in Germany and Italy. Seduced by the blandishments of royal favour, this almost ascetic recluse, to whom a library was in reality dearer than a kingdom, suffered himself to be drawn into the snares of Wolsey's tortuous policy, and undertook to remit the subsidy to the imperial commission at Venice. Unpractised in duplicity, he was wholly unsuspicious of dishonourable conduct; and, attributing to accident alone the suspension of the monthly stipend, actually raised, on his own credit, a considerable sum, though totally inadequate to the demand of the imperial agents. It was in vain he reiterated his importunities for money; and he became at length convinced that application was as hopeless as unavailing: but the discovery came too late to indemnify him either in fortune or repu-

tation; and such was his nice sense of honour and integrity, and such his abhorrence of the transaction in which he had been involved, that he suddenly withdrew from all society; and, after alternate paroxysms of melancholy and frenzy, expired in a prison.* Such was the end of Pace, the companion of More and Fisher, and whose classical and liberal pursuits had extracted a tributary eulogium from Erasmus!—one among many instances, how ill fitted is the man of refined moral feelings to coalesce with the great, or to struggle against power and injustice.

If the classical eminence of Pace had excited Wolsey's jealousy, his misfortunes inspired, not commiseration, but contempt; there were however some circumstances resulting from the suppression of the subsidy, which called forth the minister's regret. In ransacking the French camp, the Duke of Bourbon had discovered, not merely sketches of the cardinal's correspondence with the Regent Louisa, but the draft of a secret convention between the Pope and the Venetians, to guaranty, in concert with England and France, the independence of Italy.† To this detection in 1525 has been attributed his subsequent attack on Rome (in 1527‡,) which was taken by storm, and exposed even to greater outrage than it had in former ages suffered from the irruptions of the Goths or Vandals. Retreating to the Castle

* See Godwin's History of Henry the Eighth. The same circumstances are alluded to in Holinshed and Speed. It has been said that he was committed to the Tower by Wolsey.

† Godwin's History of Henry the Eighth.

‡ Pope Clement had also offended the Emperor, by absolving Francis from his late engagement. See Godwin's History of Henry the Eighth; also Holinshed

of St. Angelo, the Pope, perceiving no alternative but to purchase his liberty by an enormous ransom, or submit to the most ignominious treatment, sought relief from Henry, who eagerly embraced the moment to open the long-meditated suit of divorce.

The secret whispers of princes are sometimes audible: and it is a curious fact, that before Henry's intention was surmised in England, it had become the familiar topic of conversation in Germany, where it was naturally considered as the forerunner of his separation from the church of Rome. Under this persuasion, Luther published an apology for his former epistle, in which he retracted the abuse he had lavished on Henry, by transferring it to Wolsey, and heartily congratulated the King, on being at length emancipated from the thrall of popery. To this ill-timed epistle Henry, who was about to solicit the Pope's assistance, and depended on the cardinal's co-operation, returned an ungracious answer, vindicating his minister from the aspersions of the Reformer, whose congratulations and compliments he disclaimed with ineffable contempt.

It is well known how tedious was the imprisonment of Francis in Spain, how ungenerous the treatment he received, and on what hard terms he finally obtained his enlargement. Henry rejoiced at his restoration, since he hoped by his aid to fortify himself against the opposition which he foresaw must arise, on the Emperor's part, to his aunt's degradation. The necessities of Francis furnished cogent motives for cultivating Henry's friendship. He eagerly despatched an embassy to England, to propose a treaty of marriage between his second son, Henry Duke of Orleans, and the Princess Mary. During this negotiation, the Bishop of Tarbes (who took an active part in the embassy), instigated by Wolsey, or probably solicited by Lord Rochford, started a doubt

respecting the legitimacy of the Princess, which was evidently meant to convey an insinuation against the validity of her mother's marriage. This first step was probably intended to prepare the public for the discussions which were hereafter to take place; and to mature the plan, Wolsey once more visited France with the most splendid suite ever attached to an embassy, and was received by Francis with honours never before granted to any subject.* At Amiens, he was met by the King, his mother, and sister; when, more effectually to secure his master's interest, he proposed his marriage with Rénée, the sister-in-law of Francis, afterwards united to the Duke of Ferrara; a proof that at this moment he did not regard Anne Boleyn as wholly invincible.

The real drift of the cardinal's negotiations seemed involved in almost anagrammatical perplexity. In public he proposed the redemption of the Pope's liberty; in private, he dwelt on the possibility of detaching England for ever from Austria; and from this process of reasoning, the expediency of promoting the divorce followed as a self-evident proposition. Whilst Wolsey was thus employed at Amiens, the King's agents in Rome were equally active, and Clement, who languished in captivity, and depended on Henry to furnish money for his ransom, readily promised compliance with his wishes, actually offering a bull of dispensation, which he well knew must be invalid till he obtained his liberty.† Aware of this circumstance, Wolsey demanded

* This embassy is most delightfully described by Cavendish; from whom we learn, that in honour of Wolsey the prisons were thrown open, and even the execution of prisoners suspended; and, to crown the whole, he was met by the Regent Louisa, and the Duchess of Alançon, attended by a hundred young ladies, each riding a white palfrey.

† Godwin's History of Henry the Eighth. De Carte's History.

the appointment of vicar-general, by which (armed with the Pope's delegated authority) he could venture to dispense the indulgence required: to this suggestion Clement dared not, and Francis sought not to oppose objections; and Wolsey, elate with hope, returned to England, exulting in the success of his negotiation, for which his sovereign requited him, not only with smiles and thanks, but with what he would have gladly spared —the disclosure of his engagement with Anne Boleyn.* To the cardinal no communication could have been less acceptable; but he had long since discovered, that opposition served only to strengthen Henry's resolutions. He trusted therefore to time and chance, to effect some alteration in the purpose, to which he apparently lent himself with dutiful alacrity; and as a preliminary step convened the bishops, and most eminent divines, to whom he propounded, on the ground of scriptural prohibitions, the scruples of the King's conscience.† The result of this conference was such as might have been expected; the more obsequious cordially assenting, whilst the more rigid acquiesced in silence: but they, with one exception, all subscribed the declaration, that to marry a brother's widow was unlawful. It was reserved for Fisher alone, the Bishop of London, the purity of

* See Cavendish, who expressly states the fact.

† It has been pretended by Sanders, that Anne Boleyn engaged divines devoted to her interests to act on the King's conscience. This remark refutes itself, not only because it is palpable that his scruples originated in his inclinations, but because he was too expert in theological controversy to require such assistance, and had actually determined to rest his cause on a single passage in Leviticus. If Anne Boleyn ever sent divines to Henry, it was at a subsequent period, when he really entertained a scruple, or at least betrayed a repugnance, to casting off the Pope's authority.

whose morals sanctified even his bigotry, and who evinced, with the strictness of an ascetic, the heroism of a martyr, to maintain a contrary opinion.

Dismayed by the success that crowned his appeal to the divines, Wolsey obtained some relief from the intelligence, that, whilst the imperialists were endeavouring to extort still harder terms of ransom, the Pope had escaped from St. Angelo to Orvieto, where he was more free to exercise his supreme prerogative. At the first glance the cardinal calculated the probabilities contingent on this event; and whilst he recommended to his secretary, and to the almoner, Fox, to redouble their diligence and perseverance, he foresaw with satisfaction the impediments likely to arise to the progress of their negotiation.

Of all women, Anne Boleyn was probably the last whom he would have chosen to succeed Catherine. Independent of the repugnance which so proud a man as Wolsey must naturally have experienced in witnessing the elevation of one long regarded as belonging to an inferior station, he could not but recollect the hostility which, with the exception of her father, he had shown to all her nearest relatives and connections, nor entirely dismiss the suspicion that they would repay, with interest, the mortifications formerly inflicted by his pride or malevolence. But, perhaps, a still more cogent motive for alienation existed in Anne's supposed bias to Lutheranism, which to Wolsey, who cherished for the Catholic church the most bigoted devotion, was a crime of no common delinquency.

It is not indeed very likely, that this gay and beautiful woman had entered deeply into polemical controversy; but she was decidedly opposed to the severity of that penal inquisition

established by the cardinal's legatine authority.* To the offence of reading Tindall's heretical books, she added the more heinous trespass of attempting to shield persecuted authors, and their unfortunate admirers, from obloquy and punishment.† Not without reason, therefore, did Wolsey deprecate Henry's union with a woman as much disposed to protect the followers of Luther, as her prototype, Anne of Bohemia,‡ had been to encourage the disciples of Wicliffe. But whatever might be his real sentiments, he affected to take unremitted interest in her advancement. On her part, Anne either was, or appeared to be, perfectly persuaded of his sincerity; and, to judge by the following letter, repaid his liberal professions with equally lively demonstrations of cordiality and friendship.

"My Lord;

"After my most humble commendations, this shall be to give unto your Grace, as I am most bound, my humble thanks for the great pain and travell that your grace doth take in studying

* By virtue of his legatine authority, the cardinal had not only engrossed to himself the prerogative formerly possessed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, of giving probates of wills, but instituted a regular commission for the detection and punishment of heresy. To be in possession of Tindall's Bible at that time constituted heresy. It was in 1527, when Wolsey assumed the title of the Pope's vicar-general, that he established a court at Westminster for the cognisance of heretical pravity, and a court in York House for the probates of wills. —See Fox. Strype's Memorials. Collier.

† Of this many instances are given by ecclesiastical writers. Her kindness in this respect was so notorious, that authors used privately to send their works for protection to Anne Boleyn.

‡ The wife of Richard the Second, under whose auspices the Bible was translated into English.

by your wisdom and great diligence how to bring to pass honourably the greatest wealth that is possible to come to any creature living, and in especial, remembering how wretched and unworthy I am in comparing to his highness; and for you I do know myself never to have deserved by my deserts that you should take this great pain for me: yet daily of your goodness I do perceive by all my friends; and though that I had not knowledge by them, the daily proof of your deeds doth declare your words and writing toward me to be true. Now, good my Lord, your discretion may consider, as yet, how little it is in my power to recompense you, but all only with my good will, the which I assure you that, after this matter is brought to pass, you shall find me as I am bound. In the mean time, to owe you my service, and then look what thing in this world I can imagine to do you pleasure in, you shall find me the gladdest woman in the world to do it. And next unto the King's grace, of one thing I make you full promise, to be assured to have it, and that is my hearty love unfeignedly during my life. And being fully determined, with God's grace, never to change this purpose, I make an end of this my rude and true meaned letter, praying our Lord to send you much increase of honour, with long life. Written with the hand of her that beseeches your Grace to accept this letter, as proceeding from one that is most bound to be,

"Your humble and obedient servant,

"ANNE BOLEYN."

In reading this letter, we must either conclude that Anne Boleyn had pardoned Wolsey's former offence, or that she was a practised adept in duplicity; a quality which in no other instance she was ever found to possess, and for which she even appears

to have been incapacitated by the facility and even the impetuosity of her temper. It is unlikely that the woman, who in no other instance evinced a vindictive character, should have cherished eternal hatred against Wolsey, for a disappointment in which she must long since have discovered the basis of her splendid fortune. It is, however, not improbable that she had been disgusted by Wolsey's forwardness in promoting the King's dishonourable addresses; and that, as the cardinal's personal conduct was such as to preclude esteem, his professions might naturally inspire distrust. In justice to Anne Boleyn, it should be remembered, that she had employed no artifice to obtain that pre-eminence in the King's regard, for which she was now alternately envied and flattered, hated and caressed. Compelled by his preference to renounce a prior attachment, she had rejected his passion with disdain, till it assumed the character of honourable love. Even after Henry approached her with a legitimate object, she is said to have expressed repugnance to the idea of supplanting her Queen, and of uniting her destiny to one so far removed from her own station; but her scruples respecting Catherine, if they ever existed, soon yielded to theological arguments against the marriage, or political reasons in favour of the divorce: even her prophetic fears of Henry's inconstancy, or caprice, submitted to the passion for aggrandising her family, to dreams of regal greatness, and romantic anticipations of fame and glory.*

* "Some, with the ladie herself, plotted to break or stay at the least, till something might fall betweene the cup and the lip, that might break all this purpose; with one of them, if it might have bin, and verily one of them might seem, for this present occasion, not unmeet to be recounted, which was this:—Ther was conveyed to her a book pretend-

It is worthy of remark, that even Cavendish,* the servant and eulogist of Wolsey, although he complains of her ill offices to his master, adduces against her no other proof of arrogance or malevolence, and far from insinuating suspicions injurious to her fame, contents himself with alluding to her habits of dress, and magnificence, and her keen relish for gayety and luxury. In Anne Boleyn, the love of power appears to have been tempered, if not corrected, by benevolence. Of the mercenary calculation usually discovered in female favourites, she was absolutely incapable. She might be susceptible of flattery, or caprice, but spurned the meanness of either seeking or accepting a venal recompense, and never were her services bartered for gold. With her vanity was mingled a pardonable enthusiasm, inspired by

ing old prophecies, wherein was represented the figure of some personages, with the letter H upon one, and A, upon another, and K upon the third, which an expounder thereupon took upon him to interpret by, the King and his wives; and to her personage certain destruction, if she married the King. This book coming into her chamber, she opened, and finding the contents, called to her maid, of whom we have spoken afore, and who also bore her name. Come hither, Nan, said she; see here a book of prophecies; this, she said, is the King; this the Queen, mourning and wringing her hands; and this is myself with my head off. The maid answered, If I thought it true, though he were an Emperor, I would not myself marry him, with that condition. Tut, Nan, replied the lady, I think the book a babel; yet for the hope I have, that this realm may be happy by my issue, I am resolved to have him, whatever might become of me."—Wiatt's Queene Anne Bolen. This circumstance is also adverted to by Fox.

* By Cavendish, her chastity is unimpeached, and he expressly says, she flourished in general estimation. Yet Cavendish composed his memoirs of Wolsey during the reign of Mary, to whom nothing could be so acceptable as abuse of Anne Boleyn.

the persuasion, that she was predestined to achieve some great object, a persuasion carefully fostered by the partisans of the Reformation, who hovered round her with demonstrations of zeal and devotion.* Amidst all these brilliant prospects, it was impossible that she should always forget her privations in exchanging, for dry disquisitions of polemics and politicians, the wit and eloquence of Wiatt, the vivacity of Sir Francis Brian, or the gayety and elegance of her brother's conversation. That she passionately admired Wiatt's poems is well known; and it may fairly be presumed, she was at least equally sensible to the charms of his conversation, which was confessedly still more attractive: but the influence of his society must have inflamed

* Anne was a devout admirer of Tindall's works, and particularly of his Christian Obedience, which, with other heretical books, had been proscribed by Cardinal Wolsey; of this work a curious anecdote, related by Wiatt, is corroborated in Strype's Memorials. In reading books, she made, on such passages as she most relished, private marks, which could be understood only by her familiar friends. Tindall's volume lying in her gentlewoman's apartment, was by her lover purloined, and carried to another house, and afterwards accidentally fell into the hands of Wolsey's chaplain, by whom it came into the cardinal's possession. Observing Anne Boleyn's annotations, he instantly carried the book to the King, thinking his affections would be alienated on discovering her heretical principles; but Anne, who had anticipated his intentions, had already not only obtained Henry's absolution for reading the book, but prevailed on him to read it with her, and to become its advocate. There is some discrepancy in the account given by Strype and Wiatt. The latter is palpably incorrect, since he represents Anne as being already married, which was not till after the cardinal's death; but both persist in attributing the motive to Wolsey. It is notorious, that the persecution for heresy was considerably remitted after her marriage, which may in part be ascribed to her influence.

her ambition to signalize herself as a reformer, since the arrogance and corruption of the Roman hierarchy formed his favourite theme of satire on which he wrote and spoke with equal spirit; and the sentiments expressed in the following lines, though written ten years after, had long been habitual to his mind.

I am not now in France, to judge the wine,
With savoury sauce and delicates to feed,
Nor yet in Spain, where one must him incline,
Rather than to be, outwardly to seem:
I meddle not with wits that be so fine.
Nor Flanders cheer letteth not my sight to deem
Of black and white, nor taketh my rest away
With beastliness, they beasts do so esteem.
Nor I am not where Christ is given in prey,
For money, poison, and trahison at Rome,
A common practice, used night and day;
But here I am, in Kent, in Christendom.

It may be doubted, whether Anne had naturally any aptitudes to the character of a stateswoman; but her deficiencies were well supplied by her father, or, in his absence, her brother; and she was, unhappily, under the influence of her secret enemy, the Duke of Norfolk, who sought, by her means, to displace Wolsey, but was wholly indifferent to her real interest or prosperity. Of all her familiar associates the most congenial to her taste and temper were Wiatt, and her brother, George Boleyn, his chosen friend, and in some personal qualities his acknowledged rival. Like his sister, this young cavalier was distinguished by the elegant symmetry of his form, and the winning sweetness of his manners: like his companion, he loved and cultivated poetry; nor is it a feeble commendation of his talents to add, that his

verses were often associated with the poems of Surrey, and sometimes mistaken for the productions of Wiatt's pen. With these young and brilliant reformers were connected Sir Francis Brian, a veteran cavalier, and the youthful Earl of Surrey, about not only to build the lofty rhyme, but to raise, in the production of blank verse, a monument of his taste and genius, imperishable as the English language.

Henry Howard was at once the favourite of nature and fortune; but, like Wiatt, and the accomplished George Boleyn, he had been united, by parental authority, to the Lady Frances Vere, before he was of an age to form a deliberate choice. His fancy was captivated by another object, whom he has immortalized by the name of Geraldine, but who participated so little in his passion, that she voluntarily pledged her nuptial faith to the old but wealthy diplomatist, Sir Anthony Brown. By a similar fate Wiatt had given his hand, without his heart, to Elizabeth, the daughter of Lord Cobham. After the impetuous season of youth was past, both these marriages were productive of as much happiness as is commonly to be found in domestic life; but for George Boleyn was reserved a less fortunate destiny. In pledging his faith to the daughter of Lord Morley, a nobleman celebrated for literary taste and talent, he probably offered no violence to his inclinations, since the bride was young and handsome, and the connection advantageous and honourable; but as the lady's character developed, he detected in it qualities the most adverse to domestic peace and harmony. To an inflammable and stubborn temper, she united pride, jealousy, and malignity; and, fatally for her husband, these passions were soon excited by Anne Boleyn, whom she envied for her attractions, or detested for her celebrity. Another circumstance conspired, not only to

heighten, but, in her own eyes, perhaps, to justify her hatred. As a rigid Catholic, she regarded not merely with antipathy, but abhorrence, the Lutheranism of Anne, to whose influence she probably attributed her husband's heretical propensities. It is not known at what period of their marriage her husband became aware of her perverted nature: to the total absence of sympathy and congeniality he was soon conscious. On his part, indifference, and, perhaps, infidelity, succeeded to disgust;* with her, jealousy contended with hatred, till, finally, she sought to ruin the man she no longer hoped to subjugate. As a poet, George Boleyn is known only on the tablets of fame; since the individuality of his works is still lost in the mass of contemporaneous productions. But his merits are attested by his companions in life and glory, Surrey and Wiatt, with whose lays his numbers have been often associated, and some of whose most admired productions have been attributed to his anonymous pen.†

* The name of Lord Rochford's mistress has not been transmitted; but it is notorious that he had a natural son, who was educated for the church, and ultimately became Dean of Peterborough.

† In the commendatory verses prefixed to Gascoine's Poems, published in 1575, Lord Rochford is thus associated with Wiatt and Surrey:—

Sweet Surrey swept Parnassus' springs,
And Wiatt wrote of wond'rous things,
And Rochford clambe the statelie throne,
Which muses hold in Helicon.

The following poem, said by Dr. Nott to have been written by Wiatt, has hitherto been invariably attributed to George Boleyn:—

The Lover complaining of his Love's Unkindness.

My lute, awake!—perform the last
Labour that thou and I shal wast,

During this season of care and perplexity to the King and Queen, Wolsey and Anne Boleyn, the court was enlivened by a scene of imposing splendour and festivity; and Henry's already impoverished coffers were drained to furnish a magnificent reception to a numerous embassy from France, headed by the grand-master, Montmorenci, who came to present the order of

And end that I have now begoune:
And when this song is sung and past,
My lute, be still, for I have done.

As to be heard, where ear is none,
As lead to grave in marble stone,
My song may pearse her heart as soon—
Should we then sigh or sing or mone?
No, no, my lute; for I have done.

The rocks do not so cruelly
Repulse the waves continually,
As she my sute and affection;
So that I am past remedy,
Whereby my lute and I have done.

Vengeance shall follow thy disdain,
That makest but game of earnest payne:
Think not alone, under the sunne,
Unquit to cause thy lover's plain,
Although my lute and I have done.

May chance thee lie, withered and olde
In winter nights that are so colde,
Playning in vain unto the moone,
Thy wishes then dare not to be tolde;
Care then, who list, for I have done.

Two additional stanzas are admitted in Dr. Nott's editon of Wiatt's Works.

St. Michael to the English monarch, to confer respecting the projected marriage between Henry Duke of Orleans and the Princess Mary, and privately to suggest the most effective means of promoting the divorce. In honour of these distinguished guests, entertainments were given at Hampton Court and Greenwich by Wolsey and Henry; which Cavendish has detailed with his usual deliciousness of description. On this extraordinary occasion, the cardinal convened a special council of officers of the kitchen, to whom he delegated unlimited powers in making the arrangements, with a strict injunction to be unsparing of expense. A consultation was next held with all the "caterers and expert cooks that might be gotten to beautify this noble feast." No cessation of labour was allowed to domestics, surveyors, or artisans, till the auspicious day arrived; when one hundred and eighty French gentlemen were admitted to the palace; and till the hour of supper came, were conducted to their private apartments. At length the sonorous trumpets announced the approaching banquet: the visiters were ushered into the magnificent hall; and whilst the tables were served, "*such a concert of music was prepared, that the Frenchmen seemed rapt in a heavenly paradise.*" It was not till the end of the second course, that the cardinal entered, booted and spurred, exclaiming "*Proface! Proface!*"* and with this general salutation gayly welcomed his delighted guests.

In describing the devices of the dishes, Cavendish happily exemplifies the elegant urbanity of Wolsey's manners:—"Among all, I noted a chess-borde made with spice-plate, with men thereof to the same. And for the good proportion, and because the Frenchmen were very cunninge and expert in that play, my

* Much good may do you.

Lord Cardinall gave the same to a gentleman of France, commending there a goodly care for the preservation thereof, in all haste, that he might convey the same safe into his own country. Then toke my Lord a bowle of gold filled with hippocras, and putting off his cappe, said, I drink to the King, my sovereign lorde, and next, to the King your master."

According to Cavendish, the King's treat, which was given at Greenwich,* surpassed that of Hampton Court, as gold doth

* Nothing can better illustrate the habits and manners of that age than comparative sketches of their various magnificent entertainments. To the French ambassador who arrived in England in the preceding May, with the Vicomte de Turenne, Henry had provided a gala at Greenwich, which is circumstantially described by Holinshed. "After tilting in the morning, the company repaired to a banquetting-room, a hundred feet in length, which had been prepared for their reception. Under a roof of purple cloth blazed myriads of wax tapers; the walls were hung with tapestry, and three cupboards of plate; and the whole supper was served up in vessels of gold. To rehearse the fare, the strangeness of dishes with devices of beasts and fowls, it were too long; wherefore I will let pass over the supper, with songs, and minstrelsy. The supper was done; the King, the Queen, and the ambassadors washed, and after talked at their pleasure; and then they rose, and passed by a long gallery into another chamber."—After a very elaborate, though somewhat unintelligible description of this apartment, the chronicler adds, "the roof of this chamber was cunningly made by the King's astronomer: on the ground of the roof was made the whole Earth, environed with the sea, like a map or chart, and by a cunning making of another cloth the zodiac with the twelve signs, and five circles or girdles, and the two poles appeared on the earth, and water compassing the same; and in the zodiac were the twelve signs curiously made, and above this were made seven planets, as Mars, Jupiter, Sol, Mercurius, Venus, Saturnus, and Luna, every one in their proper houses,

exceed silver; "and," he adds, "for my parte, I never saw, hearde, or reade of the like. After turning at the barrier, there was a goodly enterlude in Latin,* this done, there came a number of the fairest ladies and gentlewomen that bore any bruit of beauty in all the realme, in most richest apparel that their tailors could invent or devise, to set forth their gesture, proportion, and beauty, that they seemed to all men to be rather celestial angels descended from heaven, than creatures of flesh and bone; with whom these gentlemen of France danced, until a gorgeous masque came in, of noble gentlemen, who danced and masked with these ladies, every man as his fantasy served him: that done, and the masquers departed, came in another masque of ladies, so costly and gorgeously apparelled, that it passeth my wit to manifest and declare; wherefore, lest I should rather deface their riches, I leave it untouched. These lady maskers took each of them one of the Frenchmen to dance, and to mask. Ye shall understand that these noblewomen maskers spake good

made according to their properties, that it was a cunning thing and a pleasant sight to behold." The diversions of the evening commenced with a solemn Latin oration, commemorating the peace, the liberation of the French King, and the wisdom of Cardinal Wolsey: to this succeeded a masque, in which the Princess Mary, though only ten years of age, sustained a part. The whole concluded with dancing; and in the sequel the Queen plucked off the visor from the King's face, and her example was followed by the other ladies.

* We learn from Holinshed, that the main subject of this Latin composition was the Pope's captivity. St. Peter appeared to the cardinal, authorizing him to deliver the head of the church from bondage. The sons of Francis were introduced, soliciting the cardinal to intercede for their liberty, which finally was by his means obtained. "At this play, wise men smiled, and thought it sounded more glorious to the cardinal than the matter *in dede*."

French unto the Frenchmen, which delighted them very much to heard these ladies speak to them in their own tongue. Thus was this night occupied and consumed, from five of the clock until two or three of the clock after midnight; at which time, it was convenient for all estates to draw to their lodgings, and to take their rest; and thus every man departed whereas they had most reliefe."

Two days after this brilliant night, the principal members of the embassy were dismissed with rich presents. A more acceptable messenger shortly after arrived from Rome in the Almoner Fox, whom Gardiner had despatched with the *ultimatum* of Clement's deliberations. Alternately intimidated by the Emperor and the cardinals, the Pope professed his inability to refuse Catherine the privilege of appealing from the judgment of an arbitrary court: and complained, with bitter tears, that he was placed between the hammer and the forge.* To evince, however, his willingness to promote the King's wishes, he commissioned Wolsey and Cardinal Campeggio to hear and judge the cause in England, in a court convened by legatine authority. Such was the result of Gardiner's laborious mission, and such the terms conceded to one of the most potent sovereigns in Europe. On any other occasion Henry would have spurned conditions so inimical to his royal dignity; but now so completely was his pride subjected to a stronger passion, that he not only listened to the alternative without repugnance, but embraced it with rapture, and in the first transports of his joy despatched the envoy from Greenwich to Westminster, to which he was himself going in a few hours, that not a single moment

* See Godwin's History of Henry the Eighth. Burnet's History of the Reformation.

might be lost in transmitting to Anne Boleyn the welcome tidings. From the lady, Fox experienced a still more cordial reception; but attributing her happiness to the good offices of Gardiner, at that time distinguished by the appellation of Dr. Stevens, she thought of him alone, and repeatedly addressed and thanked the messenger in the name of his employer. Before she had suspended her inquiries or her acknowledgments, Henry himself entered; when Anne, recollecting her peculiar situation, with a modest sense of propriety that must have endeared her to the enamoured monarch, withdrew from the apartment.*

Whether her advisers suggested doubts which allayed her satisfaction, or whether Henry, on reflection, became more diffident of the Pope's ultimate intentions, they both applied to Wolsey to quicken the legate's movements, endeavouring to secure his diligence and fidelity, by unlimited professions of gratitude and confidence. The following joint epistle is evidently dictated by anxiety, not quite unmixed with distrust:—

To Wolsey.

"My Lord;

"In my most humble wise that my heart can think, I desire you to pardon me, that I am so bold to trouble you with my simple and rude writing, esteeming it to proceed from her that is much desirous to learn that your Grace doeth well, as I perceive by this bearer that you do, the which I pray God long to continue, as I am most bound to pray; for I do know the great pains and trouble that you have taken for me, both day and night, is never likely to be recompensed on my part, but alone in loving you, next to the King's Grace, above all creatures

* Burnet. Strype.

living; and I do not doubt that the daily proofs of my deeds will manifest, declare, and affirm my writing to be true, and I do trust you do think the same. My Lord, I do assure you, I do long to hear from you news of the Legate; for I hope an they come from you they shall be very good, and I am sure you desire it as much as I do, and more if it were possible, as I know it is not; and thus remaining in a stedfast hope, I make an end of my letter, written with the hand of her that is most bound to be—"

To this Henry subjoined the following postscript.

"The writer of this letter would not cease till she had caused me likewise to set to my hand, desiring you, though it be short, to take it in good part. I assure you there is neither of us but that greatly desires to see you, and much more joyous to hear that you have escaped this plague so well, trusting the fury thereof to be past, especially to him that keepeth good diet, as I trust you do. The not hearing of the Legate arriving in France causes us somewhat to muse; notwithstanding, we trust, by your diligence and vigilancy, with the assistance of Almighty God, shortly to be eased out of that trouble. No more to you at this time, but that I pray God send you good health and prosperity, as the writer would.

"By your loving sovereign and friend,

"H. R.

"Your humble servant,

"ANNE BOLEYN."*

The nomination of Cardinal Campeggio, a man who had reached his climacteric, and was often confined by gout to his chamber, might with reason excite suspicions of Clement's sincerity; and

* Burnet.

it appears from the Bishop of Bayonne, Cardinal du Bellai,* then residing in England, that he was chosen by the connivance or suggestion of Wolsey, partly to afford a convenient pretext for protracting the negotiation. Whether this adroit management was detected by Henry or not, it certainly escaped not the penetration of Sir Thomas Boleyn, who retained spies and sentinels in every corner of France, Italy, and Germany; and it was probably owing to his vigilance that Anne entered into a correspondence with Gardiner, which, though concealed from Wolsey, was well known by Henry, who was hence enabled to form a correct estimate of his minister's diligence and sincerity.

Whatever suspicions to the prejudice of Wolsey might be created in the King's breast, he was cautious to conceal them from Anne, whose unguarded openness of temper, although it probably formed her peculiar charm to his dark, designing nature, was obviously ill calculated to participate in the mysteries of political intrigue. To himself duplicity was now become habitual. Originally compelled by wayward circumstances to disguise his sentiments, he had condescended to artifice and evasion, till it almost constituted a secret and appropriate source of enjoyment. It was during the process of the divorce that this dark shade of obliquity in his character became fixed and permanent: accustomed to the unbounded indulgence of an imperious will, he could ill brook the necessity of submitting to privation or restraint; and having discharged from his mind even that latent sense of moral obligation which hitherto had partially checked the violence of his passions, he scrupled

* The brother to the historian. He appears to have been a man of the most amiable manners; and during his residence in England endeared himself to the King, the court, and even the people.

not to employ the most elaborate dissimulation to insure their accomplishment. Other vices debase mankind: it is by hypocrisy alone, that the moral sympathies are utterly perverted, and even the original features of humanity effaced. It was during the vexations and entanglements incident to the process of the divorce, that Henry gradually developed those germs of cruelty, which were hereafter to inspire terror and abhorrence.

It is impossible to hear, without disgust, the pretended scruples with which the King attempted to disguise the real motives that impelled him to separate from Catherine. To the bishops he talked of conscience; to the nobility, of the succession; whilst, to complete the mockery, he affected to lament the necessity that estranged him from the Princess, so long and so deservedly beloved. Although the Queen could scarcely have been the dupe of such professions, she affected to pity his delusion, and to hope that the holy men, from whom he sought relief, might restore peace to his wounded mind. For herself, she continued to avow her unalterable conviction that her marriage was true and lawful, since it had been sanctioned by a papal bull of dispensation; thus resting on a mere theological *quibble* the merits of a cause, which ought to have been sustained by the immutable principles of right and justice. At this moment the interior of the court of England presented a perpetual system of *disguises* and deceptions, infinitely more artificial and imposing than the masques and mummeries from time to time presented to the people. It was remarked that Anne always approached Catherine with respect, and that Catherine treated Anne with unusual complacency.* The King and

* See the Letters of Cardinal du Bellai appended to Le Grand; and Cavendish, who states that Catherine treated Mrs. Anne Boleyn with

the Queen continued apparently to live in perfect harmony, occupying the same apartment, and dining at the same table; but it was observed, that whilst the former looked melancholy, the latter seemed unusually cheerful; and utterly to discountenance an idea privately suggested at Rome, that she should retire to a convent, she adopted a gayer style of dress, encouraged music and dancing, and joined with alacrity in those pleasures she had formerly censured or rejected. Nor was this the only alteration remarked in Catherine's deportment: discarding her wonted habits of reserve, she went voluntarily into public, evidently seeking, by gracious smiles and salutations, to ingratiate herself with the people. The effort was repaid with success; the approaching arrival of the legate was distasteful to the citizens, already displeased by the interruption of their commerce with Flanders, and now seriously alarmed with denunciations of hostility from Austria. If these commercial considerations operated with one sex against the divorce, the more generous feelings of pity and sympathy were no less imperative on the other; and, to their honour, the women were notoriously the warm and disinterested advocates of Catherine's cause.* Without entering into theological quibbles or political speculations, they condemned, as cruel, a measure which, however disguised by sophistry and hypocrisy, was in reality only brought forward to gratify the inclinations of one party at the expense of the other; and, for a time, such was the enthusiasm inspired by their influence, that

the most marked distinction. Wiatt (see the Life of Queen Anne Bolen) maintains that Anne always testified profound respect for her mistress.

* Hall. Herbert. Godwin.

the people protested, with honest vehemence, whoever married the Princess Mary should be their lawful sovereign.*

During this season of perplexity and distraction, Henry's ill humour exploded in fury against Wolsey; who was so far intimidated, as to write to the Pope, beseeching him to despatch the legate without further delay. At length Campeggio commenced his journey; but scarcely had Henry hailed these good tidings, when the sweating-sickness became epidemic, and the consequent alarm of infection spread gloom and terror through the court. Anne Boleyn precipitately retreated to a village near Lambeth, whilst the King and Queen, and their attendants, migrated from place to place; and such was the panic created by this awful malady, that, like the physician, the confessor and the lawyer were constantly in requisition. Henry made his will, prayed, and fasted with Catherine, and was supposed to be estranged from Anne, when, in reality, as appears by his letters, she engrossed his thoughts, and was more than ever the object of his tenderness.† In one of these letters, he says,—"As touching your abode at Hever, you know what aire doth best

* See the Letters appended to Le Grand's Histoire du Divorce; also Lord Herbert and Holinshed.

† "The uneasiness, my doubts about your health gave me, disturbed and frightened me extremely, and I should not have had any quiet without hearing a certain account. But now, since you have yet felt nothing, I hope it is with you as with us; for, when we were at Walton, two ushers, two valets de chambre, and your brother, master-treasurer, fell ill, and are now quite well; and since we are returned to your house at Hondson,[a] we have been perfectly well, God be praised, and have not, at present, one sick person in the family; and, I think, if you would retire from the Surrey side, as we did, you would escape all danger. There is another thing that may comfort you, which is, that

[a] In Essex, purchased, in 1512, of Sir Thomas Boleyn.

suit you; but I would it were come to that thereto, if it please God, that neither of us need care for that; for I assure you I think it long." Among other victims of the sweating-sickness was Sir William Carey, the husband of Mary Boleyn, in whose behalf Anne appears to have made a request to Henry, to which he thus supplies:—"With regard to your sister's matter, I have caused Walter Welche to write to my Lord your father my mind thereon, whereby I trust that Eve shall not have power to deceive Adam; for surely whatsoever is said, it cannot so stand with his honour, but that he must needs take her, his natural daughter, now in her extreme necessity."* From the cant of piety in some of the letters written at this period, it is evident that Henry had not entirely overcome his dread of infection; but although he had himself the good fortune to escape the malady, he was suddenly alarmed for the safety of Anne, who experienced an attack comparatively mild, but which called forth his most tender solicitude.†

in truth this distemper few or no women have been taken ill; and, besides, no person of our court, and few elsewhere have died of it. For which reasons I beg you, my entirely beloved, not to frighten yourself, nor to be too uneasy at our absence: for wherever I am, I am yours, and yet we must sometimes submit to our misfortunes, for, whoever will struggle against fate, is generally but so much the farther from gaining his end; wherefore, comfort yourself, and take courage, and make this misfortune as easy to you as you can, and I hope shortly to make you sing for joy of your recall. No more at present for lack of time, but that I wish you in my arms, that I might a little dispel your unreasonable thoughts."—See Harleian Miscellany.

* From this passage it appears, contrary to Sanders, that there was no estrangement between the sisters.

† His feelings are forcibly expressed in the following letter:—

Anne soon recovered sufficiently to return to court, where her presence diffused such evident satisfaction, that those who had lately predicted the estrangement of the King's affections, were convinced her empire was more confirmed than ever; and Cardinal du Bellai* confessed, that by nothing short of a miracle was Henry to be cured of his passion. At this crisis distraction appears to have prevailed in Wolsey's councils, who vented his secret chagrin in execrations on the emperor, and even seriously

"There came to me at night the most afflicting news possible: for I have reason to grieve upon three accounts; first, because I heard of the sickness of my mistress, whom I esteem more than all the world, whose health I desire as much as my own, and the half of whose sickness I would willingly bear to have her cured; secondly, because I fear I shall suffer yet longer that tedious absence which has hitherto given me all possible uneasiness, and as far as I can judge, is like to give me more. I pray God he would deliver me from so troublesome a tormentor. The third reason is, because the physician, in whom I trust most, is absent at present, when he could do me the greatest pleasure. For I should hope, by him and his means, to obtain one of my principal joys in this world, that is, my mistress cured; however, in default of him, I send you the second, and the only one left, praying God that he may soon make you well, and then I shall love him more than ever. I beseech you to be governed by his advices with relation to your illness; by your doing which I hope shortly to see you again, which will be to me a greater cordial than all the precious stones in the world. Written by the secretary, who is and always will be,

"Your loyal,

"And most assured servant,

"H. R."

See Harleian Miscellany.

* See his Letters in the third volume of Le Grand's Histoire du Divorce d'Henri et Catherine.

proposed his deposition in a general council, declaring, that by his sacrilegious treatment of the Pope, he had forfeited his rights to the crown of Cæsar. The discontents of the people, irritated by restrictions on commerce, and the imposition of new taxes, broke forth in murmurs against the divorce, and the minister to whose fatal influence it was most unjustly attributed. A disposition to insurrection manifested itself in the North; and whilst it was pretended that Lord Rochford was to be created Duke of Somerset (a title already appropriated to Henry's natural son), a thousand injurious calumnies were circulated by the Catholics against his daughter. Of these murmurs Henry is said to have been apprised by Lord Rochford, who, with consummate prudence, advised him to dismiss Anne from court, and to take some decisive step to appease the clamours of the people.* Little as Henry could have relished the proposal, he adopted it with ardour; and whether his precipitation wounded the pride, or mortified the hopes of Anne Boleyn, she left the court by his

* Loyd ascribes the temporary separation of Henry and Anne *exclusively* to the suggestions of Sir Thomas Boleyn; but these were unquestionably enforced by other counsellors. That it should have originated with Anne's father, is, however, perfectly in unison with his wary, cautious, penetrating character. Nothing could have been better devised to defeat the malice of his daughter's enemies, or to inspire confidence in his own upright principles, and disinterested conduct. It is also probable that he might dread the consequences of Anne's indiscretion or impetuosity. The occasion of her dismission is stated by Sanders, with his usual disingenuousness and malignity. He pretends that Cardinal Wolsey was the King's adviser (a very improbable supposition, if we consider the delicate position of Wolsey with Anne Boleyn), and that Anne, exasperated by this new proof of his power, renewed her vows of eternal vengeance against him.

express orders, with painful impressions of distrust, not unmingled with resentment.

At this moment no situation could be less enviable: whether she believed that the crisis of her fate approached, or whether she anticipated a repetition of those conflicts and chagrins inseparable from a state of suspense and probation, she had but too much reason to fear the publicity of the King's passion left her no medium between supreme greatness and ignominious degradation. At the commencement of the process for divorce, neither she nor Henry could have looked for the impediments that continued to retard its progress.* It had more than once been suggested by Clement, that the celebration of the marriage might precede the dispensation to be hereafter granted: with whatever view this promise was made, it was now but too probable that the Pope meant to evade its performance; and it was obviously his policy, by protracting the cause, to exhaust the King's patience. If Henry persisted, Anne, like another Elizabeth Woodville, might have to witness the alienation of his subjects, and to incur the reproach of having destroyed his peace and prosperity. But was it credible that he should persevere in an object which could only be effected by a formal renunciation of the Roman see? Not even the obstinacy of his temper assured her he should withstand the test. If he relin-

* According to Lord Herbert and some other historians, the draft of a bull was actually found among the state-papers, dated Orvieto, 1527, not only authorising Henry to contract marriage with any woman (not being his brother's widow), but even guarantying the legality of such marriage, although contracted without a formal dispensation; this bull appears to have been rejected by Gardiner on some suspicion of informality.

quished the pursuit, he would still be a monarch equally great and beloved; whilst the envied Anne Boleyn would have no alternative but to withdraw for ever from that world in which she had only to look for obloquy and contempt. In this constant agitation of her spirits, it was impossible but that by some unguarded expressions she should betray to Henry her doubts of Clement, or her suspicions of Wolsey; and from the tenour of his correspondence, it is evident that something like recrimination occasionally passed between them.* In one of his letters, the King tells his mistress that he takes pleasure in attending to her reasonable requests.† To do him justice, however, he appears to have transmitted daily and almost hourly intelligence of Campeggio's approach. The following letter is in a strain of unwonted complacency:—

To Anne Boleyn.

"The approach of the time which I have so long expected rejoices me so much, that it seems almost ready come. How-

* "Although, my mistress, you have not been pleased to remember the promise which you made me when I was last with you, which was, that I should hear news of you, and have an answer to my last letter; yet I think it belongs to a true servant (since otherwise he can know nothing) to send to inquire of his mistress's health; and for to acquit myself of the office of a true servant, I send you this letter, begging you to give me an account of the state you are in, which I pray God may continue as long in prosperity as I wish my own."

† "The reasonable request of your last letter, with the pleasure I also take to know them, causes me to send you now this news. The legate, which we most desire, arrived at Paris on Sunday or Monday last past; so that I trust, by the next Monday, to hear of his arrival at Calais: and then, I trust, within a while after, to enjoy that which I have so long longed for, to God's pleasure, and our both comforts."

ever the intire accomplishment cannot be till the two persons meet, which meeting is more desired by me than anything in this world; for what joy can be greater upon earth than to have the company of her who is my dearest friend? Knowing likewise that she does the same on her part, the thinking on which gives great pleasure. You may judge what an effect the presence of that person must have on me, whose absence has made a greater wound in my heart than either words or writing can express, and which nothing can cure but her return. I beg you, dear mistress, to tell your father, from me, that I desire him to hasten the appointment by two days, that he may be in court before the old terms, or at farthest on the day prefixed, for otherwise I shall think he will not do the lover's turn, as he said he would, not answer my expectation. No more at present, for want of time, hoping shortly that by word of mouth I shall tell you the rest of my sufferings from your absence."

In one billet he is evidently desirous to soothe her impatience; and in the next complains that the contents of his last had transpired; upon which he sapiently observes, "that lack of discreet handling must be the cause thereof."*

* (*Original.*)

"Darling;

"I heartily recommend me to you, ascertaining you that I am a little perplexed with such things as your brother shall on my part declare unto you, to whom I pray you will give full credit, for it were too long to write. In my last letters, I writ to you, that I trusted shortly to see you, which is better known at London than any that is about me, whereof I not a little marvel, but lack of discreet handling must needs be the cause thereof. No more to you at this time, but that I trust shortly our meeting shall not depend upon other men's light handling, but upon your own. Writ with the hand of him that longs to be yours."

That her return to court was the object of his unceasing solicitude, appears from another letter, in which he says, "As touching a lodging for you, we have gotten one by my Lord Cardinal's means, the like whereof could not have been found hereabouts, for all causes, as this bearer shall show you."*

Among other mortifications incident to her situation, Anne could not but be sensible that the lover was also the sovereign. The following letter commences with a very equivocal, if not sarcastic compliment:—

"To inform you what joy it is to me to understand of your conformableness with reason, and of the suppressing of your *inutile* and *vain* thoughts and *fantasies* with the *bridle* of *reason*, I assure you all the goodness of this world could not counterpoise for my satisfaction in the knowledge and certainty thereof; therefore, good sweetheart, continue the same, not only in this but in all your doings hereafter; for thereby shall come, both to you and me, the greatest quietness that may be in this world." After this he resumes the subject of her future residence, in the style of one who is conscious that he has conferred an especial favour, obviously with a determination to vindicate the honour of Campeggio.†

* This was called Suffolk House, having been formerly occupied by the Duke of Suffolk. On its site was afterwards erected Northumberland House. It has been pretended by Sanders, that this mansion was a peace-offering to Anne Boleyn from Henry; from the correspondence, however, nothing transpires to verify this assertion: even if, as Lord Herbert states, she kept the King at a distance on her return to court, she showed, in this, not only pride but prudence, and may be supposed to have followed her father's counsels. It should be observed that there was another Suffolk House in Southwark, which was also occupied by Charles Brandon.

† "The cause why this bearer stays so long is the gear I have had

The general character of this cardinal was such as justified the eulogium. Like many of the more respectable prelates in that age, he had married in his youth, on his wife's death taken orders, and gradually risen to distinction by sound learning and strict attachment to Catholic principles. To the English court he was no stranger, having ten years before been associated with Wolsey in visiting and dissolving those monasteries, on whose ruin was erected Cardinal College. In his cold, reserved manners, he was strikingly contrasted with his colleague, in whose taste for splendour he so little participated, that he shunned occasions of pomp and exhibition, preferring to all other privileges the indulgence of ease and privacy. Without one brilliant talent, he had acquired a high reputation, founded on gravity and discretion, and an inflexible observance of ecclesiastical formalities, however tedious or unimportant. At his first public interview with the King, he dilated, in a Latin oration, on the injuries which the Pope and his subjects had sustained from the Imperial party. To this subject Henry was prepared to listen with respectful commiseration; but when, at their private conference, the legate, *pro formâ*, exhorted him to drop

to dress up for you, which I trust ere long to see you occupy, and then I trust to occupy yours, which shall be recompense enough to me for all my pains and labour. The unfeigned sickness of this well-willing legate doth somewhat retard this access to your person, but I trust, verily, when God shall send him health, he will with diligence recompense his demur; for I know well where he hath said (fomenting the saying and bruit noise), that he shall be thought imperial, that it shall be well known in this matter that he is not imperial: and this for lack of time. Farewell."

Imperial was the term applied to the partisans of Charles the Fifth, and his aunt Catherine.

the suit which he had come to England expressly to commence, the monarch's patience began to flag; and nothing but the persuasion that Campeggio was actually in possession of the decretal bull so long solicited, and that it was in due time to be produced, could have reconciled him to a mockery at once so palpable and tantalizing. Campeggio's next visit was to Catherine, whom he advised with equal earnestness, and, perhaps, more sincerity, to embrace a religious life; but even the self-denying Queen rejected the proposal in a manner that showed how little she relished his interference; protesting that she was Henry's lawful wife, and, consequently, had no right to withdraw from her husband's protection.

Having paid the proper tribute to decorum, the punctilious legate, in conjunction with Wolsey, entered upon an elaborate investigation of the evidence in favour of the divorce; but his diligence was checked by frequent returns of indisposition, and by the rumour of the Pope's death. At this intelligence the cardinal's hopes revived, and, in an ecstasy of enthusiasm, he sent to Gardiner to secure his election to the papacy; and as both Francis and Henry* had cogent motives for seconding his pre-

* That Henry had participated in Wolsey's hopes, is evident, from the following letter addressed to Anne Boleyn, in which he refers to the mission of Fox to Gardiner, to secure the cardinal's election:—

"Darling;

"This shall be only to advertise you, that this bearer, and his fellow, be despatched with as many things to compass matters, and to bring it to pass, as our wits could manage or devise; which brought to pass, as I trust by their diligence it shall be shortly, you and I shall have our desired end; which shall be more to my heart's ease, and more quietness to my mind, than any other thing in this world, as by God's grace stedfastly I trust shall be proved, but not so soon as I would it

tensions, letters were written, messengers despatched, largesses promised and anticipated; when, alas! it was discovered, that the Pope had revived, and Wolsey saw his sun of glory sink for ever!

At length, Campeggio having exhausted every possible pretext for delay, the consistorial court was opened,* when, says Godwin, "such a scene was exhibited as had never before been presented to the astonished world. A puissant monarch cited by the voice of an apparitor, made his appearance before the judges." It would be unnecessary to revert to this scene, which Shakspeare had rendered familiar to every English reader, but that it has been described by an eye-witness, with a felicity and spirit almost unequalled in any prose narration.†

"There were many tables and benches set in manner of a consistory, one seat being higher than another for the judges aloft; above them, three degrees high, was a cloth of estate hanged, and a chair royal under the same, wherein sat the King and some distance off sat the Queen, and at the judges' feet sat the scribes and officers for the execution of the process. The chief scribe was Dr. Stevens,‡ after Bishop of Winchester; and the apparitor, who was called Doctor of the Court, was one Cooke,

were; yet I will assure you there shall be no time lost that may be won, and further cannot be done, *for ultra posse non est esse.* Keep him not too long with you, but desire him, for your sake, to make the more speed; for the sooner we shall have word for him, the sooner shall our matter come to pass; and thus, upon trust to your short repair to London. I make an end of my letter; mine own sweetheart. Written with the hand of him that desires as much to be yours."

* In the palace of Bridewell.

† Cavendish's Life of Wolsey.

‡ Gardiner.

of Westminster. Then, before the King and the judges, sat the Archbishop of Canterbury, Doctor Warham, and all other bishops; there stood, at both ends within, counsellors learned in the spiritual laws, as well on the King's side as the Queen's side,—Dr. Sampson, afterwards Bishop of Chichester, and Dr. Hall, after Bishop of Worcester, with divers others; and proctors in the same law were Dr. Peter, who was afterwards chief secretary, and Dr. Tregunwell, with divers others.

"Now, on the other side, there were council for the Queen, Dr. Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Dr. Standish, Bishop of St. Asaph, in Wales, two brave noble divines; especially the Bishop of Rochester, a very godly man; whose death many noblemen and many worthy divines much lamented, who lost his head about this cause, before it was ended, upon Tower Hill: as also another ancient doctor, called Dr. Ridley, a little man, but a great divine. The court being thus ordered, as is before expressed, the judges commanded the cryer to proclaim silence, whilst the commission was both read to the court and to the people there assembled: that done, and silence being again proclaimed, the scribes commanded the cryer to call King Henry of England; whereunto the King answered, and said, 'Here:' then called he again the Queen of England, by the name of 'Catherine, Queen of England, come into the court,' &c., who made no answer thereunto, but rose immediately out of her chair where she sat; and, because she could not come to the King directly, by reason of the distance, therefore she came round about the court to the King, and kneeled down at his feet, saying these words in broken English, as followeth:—

"'Sir,' quoth she, 'I beseech you do me justice and right, and take some pity upon me, for I am a poor woman and a stran-

ger, born out of your dominions, having here no indifferent council, and less assurance of friendship. Alas! Sir, how have I offended you? What offence have I given you, intending to abridge me of life in this sort? I take God to witness, I have been to you a true and loyal wife, ever conformable to your will and pleasure; never did I contrary or gainsay your mind, but always submitted myself in all things, wherein you had any delight or dalliance, whether it were little or much, without grudging or any sign of discontent. I have loved, for your sake, all men whom you have loved, whether I had cause or not, were they friends or foes. I have been your wife this twenty years. If there be any cause that you can allege, either of dishonesty, or of any other matter, lawful to put me from you, I am willing to depart with shame and rebuke; but if there be none, then I pray you to let me have justice at your hands.

"'The King, your father, was a man of such an excellent wit in his time, that he was recounted a second Solomon; and the King of Spain, my father, Ferdinand, was taken for one of the wisest kings that reigned in Spain these many years. So they were both wise men and noble princes; and it is no question but they had wise counsellors of either realm, as be now at this day, who thought not, at the marriage of you and me, to hear what new devices are now invented against me, to cause me to stand to the order of this court. And I conceive you do me much wrong, nay you condemn me for not answering, having no counsel but such as you have assigned me: you must consider that they cannot be indifferent on my part, being your own subjects, and such as you have made choice of out of your own council, whereunto they are privy, and dare not disclose your pleasure.

"'Therefore, I most humbly beseech you to spare me, until I

know how my friends in Spain will advise me; but if you will not, then let your pleasure be done.'

"And with that she rose, making a curtesy to the King, and departed from thence, all the people thinking she would have returned again to her former seat; but she went presently out of the court, leaning upon the arm of one of her servants, who was her general receiver, one Mr. Griffith.

"The King, seeing that she was ready to go out of the court, commanded the cryer to call her again by these words,—'Catherine, Queen of England, come into court.'—'Lo,' quoth Mr. Griffith, 'you are called again.'—'Go on,' quoth she, 'it is no matter: it is no indifferent court for me, therefore I will not tarry; go on your way:' and so she departed, without any further answer at that time, or any appearance in any other court."

CHAPTER VII.

WOLSEY'S DISGRACE. — ANNE'S CORONATION.

Edicts — The Court — Catherine's Firmness — Campeggio's Decision — Henry's Rage — Wolsey's Disgrace — His Deceit exposed — Effects of the Verdict — The Lutherans — Cranmer summoned to Court — Wolsey's Enemies — His Reception by the King — Perplexity of Anne — Her Influence — Fall of Wolsey — His Retirement — His Final Dismission — His Catholicism — His Successors — Gardiner — Cromwel — More — Cranmer — State of Morals — Luther's opinion — The Universities — The Clergy and Parliament — Satisfaction of the People — The Reformers encouraged — Remonstrance — Death of Wolsey — Dismissal of Catherine — Embarrassment of Henry — Cranmer's Instructions — Intercourse of Henry and Anne — Domestic Habits of Henry — Cardinal du Bellai's Letter — Anne's Occupations — Grand Ceremonial — Anne created a Marchioness — A Feast — Progress to France — Meeting of Henry and Francis I. — Hawking Party — Dances — Marriage of Anne — Her Coronation — The Earl and Countess of Wiltshire.

DURING Cardinal Campeggio's residence in England, the fluctuations of Henry's mind were indicated by the perpetual inconsistency and vacillation of his conduct. It has been already related that, previous to the legate's arrival, Anne was dismissed from court; and to give more efficacy to the sacrifice of his inclinations, Henry convened to his palace at Bridewell an assembly of bishops, peers, lawyers, and commoners, to whom he detailed the rise and progress of his pious fears; solemnly declaring, that, could his conscience be quieted, his affections would again elect his present Queen, in preference to the fairest

and worthiest of her sex. Whatever credit might have been given to these professions was destroyed by the impatience with which, in three months, he not only recalled Anne to London, but established her in Suffolk House, where, surrounded by her nearest relatives, she was assiduously visited by his ministers and courtiers as their future queen.

To the irritable state of Henry's feelings, might, perhaps, in part, be attributed the promulgation of several additional edicts to the statutes of Eltham,* in which he requires from his servants not merely unconditional submission, but *mute* and *blind* devotion to his royal pleasure.† That some suspicion was mingled with this irritation, may be gathered from another proclamation, by which all members of the Lower House are enjoined to repair to their respective counties, on pain of his heavy displeasure. There were two causes for the King's perplexity; he was estranged from his old confidants, and distrustful of his

* "That officers of the privy chamber shall be loving together, keeping secret every thing said or done; leaving hearkning or inquiring where the King is or goes, be it early or late; without grudging, mumbling, or talking of the King's pastime, late or early going to bed, or any other matter.

"That the six gentlemen of the privy chamber shall have a vigilant and reverend eye and respect to his Grace; so that, by his look or countenance, they may know what he lacketh, or what is his pleasure to be had or done."

It was also enacted, "That all such nobles as repaired to the parliament, were immediately to depart into their several counties, on pain of his high displeasure, and to be further punished as to him or his Highness's council shall be thought convenient."

† It is remarkable that two of the gentlemen permitted to enter the King's chamber at all hours, were Weston and Norris, both of whom were afterwards beheaded.

new advisers,—the enemies of Wolsey and the abettors of the Reformation. Unwilling to secede from the church of Rome, he persisted in believing that the legate was authorized to pronounce the definitive sentence of divorce; but even this conviction did not always control the displeasure with which he witnessed his tantalizing habit of procrastination.

During some weeks the Consistorial Court continued to exhibit a disgusting mockery of justice. The proceedings were in Latin; and, to the vulgar, nothing transpired, but the officious testimonies of venal bishops and obsequious nobles in vindication of the monarch's conscience. After the first spontaneous ebullitions of sympathy for Catherine, public opinion began to incline in favour of the King, who rested his claim on the popular argument, that the Pope could not dispense with the laws of God: whilst the Queen, instead of appealing to the principles of humanity and justice, committed her cause to the indefeasible authority of the church,—a doctrine that, in England, was every day becoming less acceptable. At a second, and a third meeting, the Queen answered not; Henry, therefore, after having, to use the words of Cavendish, "chafed Wolsey," imperiously dismissed him with an injunction to require from Catherine an immediate compliance with his will.

The two cardinals repaired to the palace at Bridewell, where they surprised Catherine with a skein of silk round her neck, working with her maids. On announcing their mission, she at first declined a private conference, and finally granted it only to announce a firm and immovable determination to abide by the decision of the court of Rome. Baffled in his hopes of a compromise, Henry importuned Campeggio for the decretal bull which had been intrusted to his care. He knew not how suc-

cessfully the imperial influence had been exerted to cancel this document, nor suspected that Campeggio's son, Campana, lately arrived in England, had been purposely sent from Rome to insure its destruction.

At length the day arrived when Campeggio was to pronounce the definitive sentence. Contrary to Anne Boleyn's fears and predictions, Henry insisted he should obtain a favourable verdict; and such was his impatience to realize the anticipation, that he privately stole to an apartment adjoining the hall, where he could remain an unobserved spectator of the proceedings. The King's case being closed, his counsel demanded judgment. An anxious pause ensued; whilst Campeggio, who had hitherto listened in profound silence, slowly rising from his chair, deliberately pronounced the following oration:—

"I have with care and diligence examined whatever has been alleged in the King's behalf; and, indeed, the arguments are such, that I might not scruple to pronounce for the King, if two reasons did not control and curb my desires to do his Majesty right. The Queen withdraws herself from the judgment of the court, having before excepted against its supposed partiality, inasmuch as, she says, nothing can be determined without the consent of the Pontiff. Moreover, his Holiness, who is the fountain and life of honour, hath, by a special messenger, given us to understand, that he hath reserved this cause for his own hearing; so that, if we were never so fair to proceed farther, peradventure we cannot—I am sure we may not; wherefore I do here dissolve the court: and I beseech those whom this cause concerns to take in good part what I have done. I am a feeble old man, and see death so near me, that, in a matter of so great consequence, neither hope nor fear, nor any other respect but

that of the Supreme Judge, before whom I am so soon to appear, shall sway me."*

It is easy to imagine with what rage the King listened to this evasive sentence. The assembly remained in mute consternation, till the Duke of Suffolk, conscious of the King's invisible presence, starting from his seat, exclaimed with vehemence, "It was never well with England since these cardinals sat amongst us!" Incensed at this insolence, Wolsey retorted with acrimony: the utmost confusion prevailed; when Campeggio, who alone preserved perfect composure, descending from his throne, the audience dispersed to form their own conjectures respecting the next steps to be taken to gratify the wishes of their offended sovereign.

The first and immediate effect of Campeggio's verdict, was augmented rigour towards Catherine; against whom the Privy Council fulminated an edict, recommending to the King "to absent himself from her company, under pretence of her having lately assumed cheerfulness, not regarding the King's melancholy and discontent, which perverseness plainly showed she was the King's enemy, and likely to conspire against his royal life. They therefore presumed, as good and faithful subjects, to admonish him for his own sake to withdraw from her society and to remove the Princess their daughter, from her evil example."†

Henry had long been arbitrary; he now became cruel and implacable. At his instigation, Wolsey placed spies among the Queen's household, who watched her movements, and reported her most simple speeches and inoffensive actions; but the uprightness and caution of her character repelled treachery; and during her complicated trials nothing escaped her lips from

* Godwin's History of Henry the Eighth.

† Collier. Burnet.

which the most ingenious casuistry could extract an accusation of disobedience or sedition.

The next consequence of the verdict was Wolsey's disgrace. Fortunately for Anne Boleyn, her sagacious father had long since discovered to what point Campeggio's procrastination was tending; and, as he foresaw that the imperial agents must ultimately succeed in preventing a papal dispensation, he concerted a plan, by which the King should be provoked to defy the sovereign Pontiff, and to legitimate his marriage by an independent authority. The first step in this enterprise was to remove Wolsey from his counsels, an effort in which he was zealously seconded by the cardinal's enemies, and by his own agents and auxiliaries in France and Italy. He had passively allowed Henry to exhale, in rage, all the bitterness of his disappointment, till Sir William Kingston and Lord Manners (afterwards Earl of Rutland) produced an intercepted letter,* which rendered it apparent that the cardinal had encouraged the Pope to protract the suit, and to withhold or suspend the divorce. This information, however obtained, Sir Thomas Boleyn was enabled to confirm by other testimony; and whether these documents were forged or genuine, the wished-for impulse was given to the offended sovereign, and the favourite's fall decreed: the execution of the sentence was,

* Burnet asserts, that the intercepted letter was procured by the agency of Sir Francis Brian, at Rome, and that Lord Rochford subjoined to it a declaration of his own sentiments; but this appears to have been a mistake; Sir Francis Brian not being in Rome at that time. The testimony of Sir William Kingston was derived from some other source. That Henry had given credence to these proofs of his minister's infidelity, appears, even from Cavendish, who describes the King, at their last interview at Grafton, as putting to him some questions respecting letters, which the cardinal negatived.

however, suspended, partly from Henry's systematic duplicity, and partly from that native obstinacy, which rendered him as loth to retract an opinion as to relinquish a pursuit. It is even probable, that the minister might still have averted his ruin, by consenting to take upon himself the sole responsibility of the divorce; but the propitious moment was neglected, and he afterwards looked in vain for the returning smiles of fortune.

The most important circumstance that resulted from Campeggio's subterfuge, was the accession of strength that it brought to the reforming party; with whom the King himself was compelled to coalesce, to raise a barrier to the Pope's unlimited supremacy. From that memorable day, when the legate had delivered his opinion, the tide of national sympathy flowed in unison with Henry's feelings. From pride and patriotism, the nobility resented the transference of the cause to Rome; the citizens murmured at the intrusion of a foreign judicature; the provincial gentry echoed the opinions of the nobility; the peers, with the exception of the bishops, were ready to concur with the commons, in the exposition and abolition of those abuses of ecclesiastical power, which had long oppressed both the higher and lower orders of the community. By a new and rapid revolution of sentiment, the court sanctioned and even patronized the doctrine of anti-papal resistance, lately confined almost exclusively to the small, despised, persecuted sect of Lollards or Lutherans, to whom the most precious of all earthly possessions was the Bible, which was neither to be obtained nor preserved, but with the utmost peril, and which had been consecrated by the tears and even the life-blood of its martyred disciples. It was not a little singular to trace any correspondence of language or sentiment in the favourites of Henry the Eighth, with those

primitive single-minded people, whose kingdom was not of this world, and who placed all their happiness and glory in worshipping God according to the dictates of reason and conscience. On the dissolution of the Consistorial Court, however, some of those heretical truths, which were connected with secular interests, obtained many noble champions and defenders, and whilst Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, deprecated the interference of popes and cardinals, the Duke of Norfolk, though bigoted in his attachment to the Romish hierarcky, eagerly co-operated in destroying Wolsey, by whom alone its interests could be supported; Lord Rochford and his daughter insensibly softened the King's antipathy to the *new learning*, by which appellation was stigmatized every doctrine opposed to the old superstitions; the young cavaliers assailed with ridicule the monks and the monasteries; and Wiatt is said to have dissipated Henry's most inveterate prejudice against heresy, by humorously exclaiming, "Good Lord! to think that a man must not repent of his sins, without the Pope's leave." The pleasantry was relished; for the King laughed, and, two or three days after, when the same idea was suggested in Cranmer's well-known proposition of procuring subscriptions from the most celebrated universities in Europe, it obtained the most cordial and unequivocal approbation. Cranmer was summoned to Court—at the first glance engaged Henry's partiality; and having composed an essay in defence of the divorce, was sent to advocate the cause in Italy and Germany.

Exhilarated by new hopes of success, the King commenced a progress to Woodstock, attended by Catherine,* and accompanied by Anne Boleyn. With whatever repugnance the unhappy Queen submitted to the intrusion of her rival, she too well

* Hall.

knew, that to her presence, however unwelcome, she was indebted for even the little complacency with which she continued to be treated by her discontented husband: nor was this envied rival less alive to the mortification of resuming that subordinate station which she had hoped to quit for ever; but she was sensible that the exigencies of the moment required the sacrifice of pride and temper, and that her agency was indispensable to counteract those arts by which the cardinal sought to regain his master's favour. To achieve this minister's disgrace was equally the object of the Catholic Duke of Norfolk, and the half-Lutheran Duke of Suffolk: with this view, the anti-papal, and anti-imperial parties had coalesced, and rallied round Anne for patronage and protection. Even the zeal with which she attached herself to the former obtained indulgence from its opponents, who, in cherishing the declared enemy of Wolsey, forgave, or overlooked, the advocate of the Reformation. It may be remarked, that, of all who armed against Wolsey, Anne Boleyn alone had the stronger motive of self-defence to impel her to seek his ruin: from others he might intercept favour or preferment, but to her he had been interposed as a fatal and insuperable barrier to greatness and felicity; nor could she shut her eyes to the conviction, that, by his perfidious promises of friendship, she had been placed in a situation the most tantalizing and precarious. With sentiments such as these, what was her mortification, to be apprised that Cardinal Campeggio was approaching Grafton (to bid the King farewell), accompanied by Wolsey, who obviously still hoped to regain the confidence of his offended sovereign! Anne's first impression was alarm; but it subsided to contempt, when the courtiers, already exulting in his downfall, insisted that he would be excluded from the royal presence.

On his arrival, it was evident that no preparation had been made for his reception; and whilst Campeggio was ushered into a stately chamber, his colleague was indebted to the spontaneous kindness of Sir Henry Norris for even a temporary accommodation. Accustomed to exist in the artificial atmosphere of pride and flattery, Wolsey hardly knew how to believe he owed so much to an individual, whom he had hitherto considered as perfectly insignificant; but collecting all his firmness, he proceeded with his accustomed self-possession to the presence-chamber. At his entrance, the courtiers smiled, anticipating with malignant joy his confusion and disgrace. Some had betted that the King would not even address him; others whispered an ominous interpretation of his supposed silence. Great, therefore, was their surprise, when they perceived that Henry welcomed both cardinals with equal cordiality; and yet greater was their dismay, when, taking Wolsey's hand, he led him into a recess beneath a window, where, aloof from all the circle, they stood side by side, in low but earnest conversation. Finally, both legates were dismissed with courtesy, but Henry commanded Wolsey to meet him again in the evening. When the cardinal withdrew, a sudden change of aspect was perceived in the astonished courtiers; and they mechanically resumed the attentions commonly offered to the omnipotent favourite, who retraced his steps in triumph. The Dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk were the first to bear to Anne Boleyn the unwelcome tidings. Naturally high-spirited and ingenuous, she could ill disguise her vexation at Henry's conduct, which, to her quick apprehension, argued nothing less than the total dereliction of his late engagements. The King, who, in his progresses, indulged himself with the liberty of choosing his own party, that day dined in her apart-

ment,* where, even at table, she so little controlled her feelings, that, even in the presence of the waiters, she audaciously arraigned the cardinal's maladministration, reprobated the heavy loans he had contracted in the sovereign's name, to the prejudice of the subject; "Had my father, or uncle, or the Duke of Suffolk, adventured but half as much, he would have lost his head." Amused, if not flattered, by this inquietude, Henry suffered her to proceed, with no other comment, than that he perceived she was not the cardinal's friend; to which she rejoined, "I have no cause, or any that love you; no more hath your Grace, if you did but well consider his indirect and unlaw ful doings." Not even the flattering insinuation conveyed in these words prevented Henry from admitting Wolsey to an even ing conference of two hours, during which Anne endured, by anticipation, all the torments of disappointed ambition. She dreaded the renewal of Henry's scruples to those measures, which he had with difficulty been induced to adopt. She remembered, with terror, his former vacillation and inconsistency, and believed her cause lost for ever, if Wolsey were restored to his confidence. The anti-ministerial party gathered round her, and the interval was spent in anxious deliberation. At length the cardinal departed by torch-light; but not before another appointment had been made for the next morning. At this news Anne lost hope and patience: she seemed not to have known, or not to have remembered, that Henry smiled on those whom he predestined to destruction; nor did she calculate what powerful reasons might induce him to dissemble, when prudence suggested the propriety of concealing the alteration in his sentiments from

* In general Henry dined with his Queen; but during a progress they might occasionally be separated.

Campeggio, who was about to return to Rome, where he still flattered himself he might obtain a favourable judgment. It is also probable, that he wished to ascertain how far the cardinal had really been accessary to his late disappointment. That he accused him of clandestine correspondence with the Pope, is acknowledged even by Cavendish, who heard his master in general terms disclaim the charge. The King, at the moment, might seem satisfied; but, in him, suspicion was not easily allayed: and although he dismissed the minister with kindness, evidently never meant to renew their friendship. In the morning, when Wolsey returned at the hour appointed, the King, recollecting an engagement with Anne, parted from him with courtesy too studied to deceive a practised courtier. Offended at this new instance of duplicity, Anne betrayed, by her countenance, that indignation she ventured not to express, and darting on Wolsey a glance of mingled anger and disdain, passed on, without vouchsafing the least obeisance.

After the cardinal's departure, no one remained to undermine or counteract the influence of Anne Boleyn. In walking and riding, she was the King's chosen companion, the depositary of all his cares and vexations, the inventress of his amusements, the dispenser of his pleasures. In obtaining and preserving this empire, Anne discovered powers of understanding, far different from those superficial though seducing accomplishments, with which she had first captivated his affections. Of her strength of character, she is said, during this progress, to have given a convincing proof, by persuading Henry to visit a spot in Woodstock Forest, which had the reputation of being haunted, and of which there was a prediction extant, that the king who approached it would not survive. Although Henry was natu-

rally superstitious, she had the eloquence and address to induce him to confront the chimerical danger, and enjoyed the triumph he had obtained over his fantastic terrors.* It might have been apprehended that the King would scarcely tolerate any superiority in a woman; but, at this time, he had not entirely lost the sensibilities of youth; his early prepossessions had been favourable to the female character: to his grandmother, the celebrated Countess of Derby, he had been accustomed to yield implicit deference; the example of his mother, and his wife, had taught him to require a high standard of female virtue; nor were there wanting, among the distinguished women of that age, individuals who might sanction the pretensions of their sex to intellectual equality. But neither in Margaret of Savoy, nor Margaret of Navarre, had the union of sense and softness, of gaiety and reserve, been so attractively blended as in Anne Boleyn. Among all her superior attractions, however, there was perhaps none so well calculated to confirm the King's attachment, as that she was strikingly contrasted with the superstitious Catherine, nor is it impossible, but that he was the more readily induced to make the effort to overcome any weakness in which she participated.

Within a month after his final interview with the King at Grafton, the cardinal was deprived of the Great Seal, and stripped of his treasures; to escape imprisonment, he confessed himself guilty of *premunire*,† and surrendered to the King all his possessions. Appeased by submission, Henry condescended, from

* Fox.

† By virtue of the statute of Richard the Second, against the supremacy of ecclesiastical over civil courts. The King had, however himself sanctioned Wolsey's acceptance of the legatine authority.

time to time, to send him assurances of friendship; but evinced the insincerity of these professions, by allowing the Commons to exhibit against him articles of impeachment, which were, however, repelled and refuted by his secretary, Cromwel. The cardinal met not calamity with manly firmness: ever vacillating between the love of power and of fame, he professed a desire to leave the world, assumed a hermit's garb, entered the monastery of Shene, and accidentally lodged in the room formerly occupied by Dean Colet, that virtuous and disinterested advocate for knowledge and truth, whose supreme ambition was, not to dazzle, but improve and bless mankind. Whether Wolsey was here visited by compunctious recollections of his former abuse of power and prosperity, or whether the nobler energies of his nature resumed their ascendancy, he became seriously anxious to perpetuate some claims to the gratitude of posterity, and earnestly implored the King to spare, at least, the colleges of Ipswich, and Oxford, which, under his auspices, had been erected; but to this petition, was annexed another, more consonant with mundane vanity, "that he would be pleased to allow the superb monument, constructed for him by the famous Benedetto,* to be his future tomb," to which he was, he said, "from the heaviness of his soul, fast descending." That he was not sincere in his renunciation of the world, may with reason be inferred, from his abject supplications to Anne Boleyn, through the medium of Cromwel; to whom, according to Cavendish, she gave gentle words, although she resolutely and wisely refused a mediation, by which she must have compromised the interests of the reforming party.

* Benedetto, a statuary at Florence, was employed by Wolsey to construct his monument, to which Antony Cavelleri was to furnish the gilding; which, though unfinished, had already cost 4250 ducats. This monument was seized by Henry, but never completed.

It may be doubted whether even her intercession would have availed, after Henry had once gratified his rapacity with the spoils of his former favourite, who was however at length pardoned and dismissed to his archiepiscopal see of York, and the *comparative* poverty of four thousand per annum.

Thus fell the first, perhaps the only despotic minister of Henry the Eighth. His character has been often portrayed; but one of its most remarkable features, that overweening respect for the Church, which disposed him to hold all other objects and duties subordinate to its dignity, appears to have been generally overlooked or forgotten. Paradoxical as it may seem, the austere Becket was not more zealous to vindicate the prerogative and exalt the honours of ecclesiastical supremacy, than the gay, voluptuous, and insinuating Wolsey. It was the master-passion of his soul to restore to its former omnipotence that papal throne, of which he always hoped to obtain the sovereignty. Even his love of learning, in other respects the emanation of a munificent spirit, was modified by this sentiment. In founding colleges, he sought but to raise ornaments for the pulpit. To the laity he left the comforts of ignorance; and, resisting every effort to enlighten the people, watched over political and theological publications with a jealousy not unworthy of the holy office,* and directed against such as were either suspected or detected of

* This vigilance was more particularly directed against political strictures. In 1527, he took cognisance of a Christmas interlude, performed at Gray's Inn, of which the argument was, that *Lord Governance* was ruled by *Lady Dissipation* and *Lady Negligence*, by whose misrule *Lady Public Weale* was put from *Governance*, which caused *Rumor Populi* to rise *vi et armis*, to expel *Negligence*, and restore *Public Weale* to her castle. The compiler of this piece, which was greatly applauded, was committed to the Fleet.

heretical pravity, a rigorous prosecution. It escaped not Wolsey's penetration, that it was from the same ray of light that emanated civil and religious liberty; and his abhorrence of Lutheranism flowed perhaps from the impression, that the rights of conscience were inseparable from the common rights of humanity: yet his political sagacity failed to discover, that the persecution, by which the heretic was devoted to the flames, threw a sacred halo over those doctrines he would have impugned, and consecrated to pity that sect which he abhorred.

On the ruins of Wolsey's colossal greatness arose four ministers of various talents and pretensions. The first was Gardiner, his former dependant and confidant; who had originally pursued the law, but afterwards entered the Church, for which he showed attachment when he became Bishop of Winchester. Born with that penetration which almost assumes the character of prescience, it was his privilege, that, whilst he unravelled and explained all other minds, he remained himself inscrutable to observation. His duplicity was, however, not always criminal, since he ceased not to serve Wolsey with fidelity, when he entered into a clandestine correspondence with Anne Boleyn. Prompt and decided, with no scruples of conscience, no emotions of humanity, he was formed to execute the will of his imperious sovereign. An ingenious sophist, whatever was the subject of discussion, his argument flowed with facility; and it is notorious that he wrote, almost at the same time, to support the Pope's supremacy and the King's independence. He detested the Reformation, yet promoted the marriage of Anne Boleyn; and artfully adapted his principles, or rather his prejudices, to the exigencies of the moment.

Next to Gardiner, and infinitely superior to him in energy and

vigour, was Cromwel, the secretary of Wolsey, who, by undertaking his master's defence in Parliament, ushered forward his own talents, and excited a general prepossession in his favour. Nature had formed this man for great emergencies. Of mean birth* and vulgar education, he joined the army in Flanders as a volunteer, and by his bravery and indigence attracted the notice of a humane merchant named Frescobald, who recommended him to Wolsey's service; and to whom he afterwards well repaid the debt of gratitude. Quickness and diligence supplied in him the deficiencies of early education; society polished his mind and manners; and he became, if not a classical, an eloquent English orator. Cromwel was no churchman, nor did he imbibe Wolsey's predilections for Roman supremacy; yet his attachment to the Reformation evidently flowed from political calculations. After Wolsey's banishment, he had frequent access to Henry, to whom he boldly demonstrated the advantages to be derived from an abolition of the Pope's power, and the suppression of certain ecclesiastical privileges. Henry relished the suggestion, and, under the title of Vicar-general, (derived from the Pope,) Cromwel was eventually to subvert the Pope's Anglican jurisdiction.

In the dignified office of Chancellor, or, as it was then designated, Lord Keeper, Wolsey was succeeded by Sir Thomas More, a man well born and liberally educated, imbued with the spirit of classical literature, celebrated for his wit and learning, and exemplary in all the domestic relations of life. He had applied

* Cromwel was the son of a blacksmith; for his diligence in suppressing monasteries, he was created Baron Cromwel; for his exertions in making the match between Henry and the Lady Anne of Cleves, he was first raised to the dignity of Earl of Essex, and then beheaded.

to the study of law with success, and was justly revered for his professional integrity, and domestic virtues; but these admirable qualities were tarnished by bigotry, not more repugnant to his native dispositions than unworthy of his understanding. Alarmed at the progress of Lutheranism, he was weak enough to imagine that the exercise of reason was to be suspended by the sword and the flame; that the ever-active and progressive principle of the human mind was to be arrested by decrees and statutes, and persecutions alike repugnant to sound policy and genuine piety. It is a melancholy reflection, that More's sanguinary administration almost obliterated the memory of Wolsey's rigours, and that the stigma of cruelty and pusillanimity is thus affixed to a name, which must otherwise have commanded the veneration and inspired the gratitude of posterity.*

Of a different complexion was Cranmer; a priest, unfitted for his profession by his social instincts, his lively sympathies, and large capacities for tenderness and benevolence. In early youth he had sacrificed ambition to love, by marrying the object of his choice, who survived not long this proof of devoted attachment: on her death, believing himself for ever weaned from domestic affections, he re-entered the church, and after due probation pro

* In Strype, Fox, and Collier, will be found various examples of Sir Thomas More's severity. For the spirit with which he regarded heresy, we have his own authority, in the following passage:—"That which I professe in my epitaph, is, that I have been troublesome to heretics I have done it with a little ambition, for I so hate them, these kind of men, that I would be their sorest enemy that I could, if they will not repent; for I find them such men, and so to increase every day, that I even greatly fear the world will be undone by them." Dialogues on Heretics.—With such sentiments it was impossible but that More should be the inveterate enemy of Anne Boleyn.

nounced the irrevocable vows. From learning and eloquence he obtained but barren praise, till having accepted the situation of tutor in Mr. Cressey's family by the fortunate intervention of Fox and Gardiner, he was introduced to the notice of Henry, by whom he was retained, to advocate the divorce, and defend the cause at Rome, and in Germany. The life of Cranmer was not without romantic incidents: during his residence on the Continent, he discovered that he still possessed a heart susceptible of tender impressions. Associated under the same roof with the amiable niece of Osiander,* he once more questioned the right of the church to divorce its ministers from the best and dearest charities of life. In Germany the most eminent divines had abjured the monkish vows of celibacy; and Cranmer, finding nothing in Scripture to enforce the obligation, was privately united to the object of his affections, little foreseeing he should hereafter renounce the name of husband to accept the primacy of England.†

There is something in the character of Cranmer that disappoints expectation, and leads us to suspect his naturally noble and ingenuous mind had been enervated by premature prosperity. On great occasions he evinced both fortitude and magnanimity; but to the minor trials and temptations of life, he brought not the firmness and intrepidity displayed by some prelatical contemporaries. It may, however, be observed, if he knew not to

* A celebrated Lutheran divine.

† By this lady, who privately followed him to England, he had several children: she lived with him many years as his known though not acknowledged wife, till the promulgation of the six articles by Henry compelled him to send her back to Germany, where she continued, till the accession of Edward the Sixth.

suffer like Fisher, nor to resist with Latimer, he possessed higher capacities of understanding than these ascetic devotees, and that he was perhaps too enlightened, and even too benevolent to participate in that fanatical or bigoted zeal, sometimes associated with sublime heroism and magnanimous integrity. For humanity, and the gentler virtues of civilized society, Cranmer was eminently conspicuous, and of all the early English reformers, appears most to have been misplaced in the court of Henry the Eighth, and the age of Charles the Fifth. Of the low state of morals in Europe, at this period, the mission to the universities affords decisive proof, since in France, and even in Italy, where the new doctrines had been strenuously opposed, and the Pope's infallibility was upheld as the palladium of Christianity, subscriptions were easily purchased for the King's cause. Henry's gold prevailed more than Gardiner's eloquence; and not only from the University of Toulouse, but from those of Padua and Bologna, a declaration was obtained the most derogatory to their professed principles.*

Subscriptions were not procured with the same facility in Germany, where, according to the maxims of worldly policy, no opposition could have been anticipated from the Lutherans, who had cogent motives for seeking to conciliate one of the most powerful princes in Europe.† Yet neither bribery nor persua-

* It is in vain, that Burnet attempts to persuade himself and his readers, that Henry's cause was not supported by bribery: the records of Strype and Collier attest the fact; and it appears from the correspondence of Cardinal du Bellai, that the decisions of the French universities were influenced not only by gold, but the authority of their monarch.

† Of this marked difference between the Catholics and the Lutherans,

sion could extort from them subscriptions or declarations which they internally condemned as repugnant to the principles of equity and justice. Even Luther, although he censured Henry's marriage with Catherine, reprobated the divorce. Other eminent divines contended for the preservation of the Queen's rights, and those of her offspring. Such was the moral feeling inspired by the pursuit of truth; such the integrity of men, who had learned to exercise reason, uncontrolled by authority, in defiance of persecution!

In England it was not without management that the two universities were rendered subservient to the royal will. Alarmed by the disaffection lately manifested to their body by the King and parliament, the English clergy clung to the ark of Rome, with the vain hope of protecting abuses which the superstition of former ages had consecrated, but which were now execrated and abhorred. These terrors were not unfounded. At the in-

the learned Croke furnishes a curious illustration in the following letter, dated Venice:—

"My fidelity bindeth me to advertize your Highness, that all Lutherans be utterly against your cause, and have letted as much with their wretched power, malice without reason or authority, as they could, and might, as well here as in Padua and Germany. I doubt not but all Christian universities, if they be well handled, will earnestly conclude with your Highness. As from the seignory and dominion of Venice, towards Rome, and beyond Rome, I think there can be no more done than is done already. Albeit, I have besides this seal procured unto your Highness an hundred and ten subscriptions, yet it had been nothing in comparison of that I might easily have done. At this hour, I assure you, I have neither provision nor money, and have borrowed an hundred crowns, the which also are spent."—He concludes by imploring him not to suffer the cause to be lost for want of pecuniary supplies.

stigation of Cromwel, six bills were introduced into the Commons, directly levelled against the evils created by ecclesiastical prerogatives.*

Involved in Wolsey's delinquency of *premunire*, the clergy not only submitted to the penalty of a hundred thousand pounds, but recognised the sovereign as supreme head of the church; the parliament had next been inculpated, but received a gracious pardon, and the King's debts to the people were cancelled.† At

* It is curious to trace, in the preamble of this bill, a positive confirmation of all the arguments advanced in the Supplication of Beggars against Popery: — 1st, The oppressive fines extorted by the ordinary for the probates of wills: 2d, Extreme rigour in exacting mortuaries: 3d, The vexatious rapacity of stewards to bishops: 4th, The intrusion of abbots and priests in keeping tan-houses, buying and selling cloth and wool, like other merchants: 5th, That the incumbent of a good benefice was commonly maintained in some nobleman's family, regardless of the spiritual or temporal interests of his flock: 6th, The plurality of livings, by which many an illiterate priest was maintained in affluence, whilst many a learned scholar could not obtain a livelihood. Adverting to the extortion for mortuaries, it is said, "though the children of the defunct should go begging, they would take from him even the seely cow which the dead man owed them." As an instance of the excessive exaction for probates of wills, it is mentioned that Sir Henry Guildford, as executor to Sir William Compton's will, paid to the Archbishop of Canterbury the enormous sum of one thousand marks.

† The following extract from that spirited tract, the Beggars' Supplication against Popery, appears to be a genuine transcript of the popular impression against the enormous usurpations of the clergy. This tract, suppressed by Wolsey and More, was privately sent to Anne Boleyn, who relished it so much, that she ventured to impart it to Henry. The King liked the work, but at that time ventured not to avow his sentiments. In 1538 it was openly presented to him at court,

another time this fraud would have called forth popular indignation; but such was the general satisfaction produced by the seasonable relief from ecclesiastical oppression, that the mur-

and is confessedly one of the most eloquent productions of that period. The close of the exordium presents a curious mixture of pedantry and argument:—

"These are not the herds for sheep, but the ravenous wolves going in herds' clothing, devouring the flock. The bishops, abbots, priors, deacons, archdeacons, suffragans, priests, monks, canons, friars, pardoners, and somners, and who is able to number this idle ravenous sort, (which setting all labour aside) have begged so importunately, that they have gotten into their hands more than the third part of all your realm. The goodliest lordships, manors, lands, and territories are theirs. Besides this, they have the tenth part of all the corn, meadow, pasture, grass, wool, colts, calves, lambs, pigs, geese and chickens; over and besides the tenth part of every servant's wages, the tenth part of the wool, milk, honey, wax, cheese, and butter; yea, they look so narrowly upon their profits, that the poor wives must be accountable to them for every tenth egg, or else she getteth not her rights at Easter, and shall be taken as an heretick. Hereto have they their four offering-days. What money pull they in by probates of testaments, privy tithes, and by men's offerings to their pilgrimages! And at their first masses, every man and child that is buried must pay somewhat for masses and dirges to be sung for him, or else they will accuse the dead's friends and executors of heresy! What money get they by mortuaries, by hearing of confessions, (and yet they will keep thereof no counsel), by hallowing of churches, altars, super-altars, chapels, and bells; by cursing of men and absolving them again for money! What multitudes of money gather the pardoners in a year, by citing the people to the Commissaries Court, and afterwards releasing the appearance for money! Finally, the infinite number of beggar-friars, what get they in a year!

"Here, if it please your grace to mark, we shall see a thing far out of joint: — there are, within your realm of England, fifty-two parish

murs of discontent were soon suppressed; and Henry, in satisfying his immeasurable rapacity, inspired the gratitude due only to a generous benefactor.

churches, and this standing; that there be but ten households in every parish, yet are there five hundred thousand and twenty thousand households, and of every of these households hath every of the five orders of friars a penny a quarter for every order; that is, for all the five orders, five-pence a quarter for every house; that is, for all the five orders, twenty pence a year for every house; *summa totalis* forty-four thousand pounds; and three hundred and thirty-three pounds six shillings and eight-pence sterling, whereof not four hundred years past, they had not one penny. Oh! grievous and painful exactions, thus yearly to be paid, from which the people of your noble predecessors, the kings of the ancient Britons, ever stood free!

"And this will they have, or else they will procure him that will not give it them to be taken as an heretic. What tyranny ever oppressed the people like this cruel and vengable generation? What subjects shall be able to help their prince, that be after this fashion yearly polled? What good Christian prince can be able to succour us poor lepers, blind, sore, and lame, that be thus yearly oppressed? Is it any marvel that your people so complain of poverty? Is it any marvel that the taxes, fifteenths, and subsidies, that your Grace most tenderly of great compassion hath taken from among your people, to defend them from the threatened ruin of your commonwealth, seeing that almost the uttermost penny that might have been levied hath been gathered before, verily, by this ravenous, cruel, and insatiable generation?—The Danes, neither the Saxons, in the times of the antient Britons, should never have been able to have brought their armies from so far hither, and to your land, to have conquered it, if they had, at that time, such a sort of idle gluttons to find at home;—the noble King Arthur had never been able to have carried his army to the foot of the mountains to resist the coming down of Lucius the emperor, if such yearly exactions had been taken of his people;—the Greeks had

From this commencement the reformers drew the most auspicious presage. Henry's passions were enlisted in their cause; and he was too much delighted to have discovered an unexpected mine of wealth, to listen to the denunciations of Fisher, or the warning of Wolsey, who constantly identified the adversaries of the Church with the subverters of government, and bequeathed a solemn charge against the Lutherans.* To pre-

never been able to have so long continued at the siege of Troy, if they had had such an idle sort of cormorants to find;—the antient Romans had never been able to put all the world under their obeisance, if their people had been thus oppressed;—the Turk, now in your time, should never be able to get so much ground of Christendom, if he had in his empire such a sort of locusts to devour his substance: lay then these sums to the aforesaid third part of the possessions of the realm, that you may see whether it draw nigh to the half of the whole substance of the realm or not; so shall you find that it draweth far above."

* The Cardinal died at Leicester, 1530, as he was journeying to London to take his trial on a new charge of high treason. By a singular chance it devolved on Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, Anne Boleyn's unfortunate lover, to take into custody his former lord. Wolsey was preparing for his installation in York cathedral, which was to be celebrated with a magnificence never before witnessed in that remote county. On hearing of the Earl's arrival, he expressed the most cordial satisfaction, and affectionately embraced him, regretting that he had not been better prepared for his reception. The Earl, who was ill-suited to his office, pale and trembling, in scarcely articulate accents, said, "I arrest you." The cardinal refused to recognise his authority; but on seeing Sir William Kingston, surrendered to him without resistance. Both his jailers endeavoured to dissipate his apprehensions, and to persuade him that the King merely wished to afford him an opportunity of exculpating his conduct. Without hesitation the cardinal commenced his journey; but soon finding himself too ill to proceed, prepared for death, conversing to his last moments with that persuasive

vent a total breach with the court of Rome, the principal nobility and clergy addressed a remonstrance to Clement, in which, after having stated the decisions of the universities in favour of the divorce, they protested, that by withholding his consent, he would compel the King and his subjects to withdraw from his paternal protection. To this paper Wolsey had perhaps refused to affix his signature; and whether Henry was exasperated by his obstinacy, or suspicious of his loyalty, articles of treason were exhibited against him; and, but for the seasonable arrival of death, he would have been conducted to the Tower, to linger in misery, or expire with shame. The death of Wolsey accelerated not the divorce; but Henry still kept his court at Greenwich, with Queen Catherine, and still solaced himself with the society of Anne Boleyn.

During two years, the King had alternately employed menaces and solicitations, to obtain the sanction of a papal dispensation. Convinced, at length, that his applications were wholly unavailing, in the sessions of 1532, he caused the declarations of the several universities* to be communicated to the parlia-

eloquence which had so often bewitched the sovereign who now decreed his fate. In his concluding speech to Kingston, who had been, unknown to him, his secret enemy, he made an allusion to the cause of his misfortunes, which countenances the idea that he had originally suggested to Henry the possibility of effecting the divorce: "Therefore, Mr. Kingston, I warn you, if it chance you hereafter to be of his privy council, as for your wisdom you are very mete, be well assured and advised what you put in his head, for ye shall never put it out again."—Wordsworth's Edition of Cavendish's Life of Wolsey.

* The universities of Orleans, Paris, Anjou, Toulouse, Blois, Bologna, and Padua, Oxford and Cambridge. That Henry did not submit the question to the discussion of parliament is evident, from the man-

ment; after which a deputation from their body waited on the Queen, to persuade and admonish her to submit to the laws of God. But Catherine persisting in her former answer, she was warned "that the King would in future be advised to abstain altogether from her society." Notwithstanding this denunciation, however, Henry appears to have celebrated with her the Easter festival at Windsor; after which he signified his pleasure, that she should remove to another place. To this injunction she yielded implicit obedience, and repaired first to More Park, and afterwards to East Hampstead; whilst the King, more than ever perplexed, withdrew from convivial society, and neglected all ordinary amusements, to devise some feasible expedient for realizing his intended marriage. With his parliament he deigned not to consult; either because he discovered not in their body the competence to offer any decision on the question, or because he distrusted the validity of statutes, which experience had taught him might be confirmed or cancelled at pleasure by a succeeding administration. Hitherto it had rather been by accident than choice, if he met the views of the reforming party; but the Pope's inflexibility left him no other resource than a vigorous adoption of their principles. In prohibiting the contribution of annates or first-fruits, he made another attack on the authority of the supreme Pontiff, which, coming in the shape of

ner in which the Lord Chancellor dismissed them:—"Now you, in this Commons house, may report in your counties what you have seen and heard, and then all men shall openly perceive that the King hath not attempted this matter of will and pleasure, as some strangers report, bu' only for the discharge of his conscience, and suretie of the succession of this realm. This is the cause of our repair to you, and now will we depart."

financial calculation, was not unacceptable even to the clergy or the people. Still Henry hesitated to take a step by which he must formally separate himself and his subjects from the mitred chief, whose spiritual jurisdiction was acknowledged by every people of Christendom. Retaining the pusillanimous scruples imbibed from education, he sought for some royal or imperial precedent by which to regulate his conduct, and eagerly suggested the idea of establishing in his own dominions a patriarch, or convoking a general council, according to the practice of the Eastern Empire; but above all things Henry was desirous to engage the concurrence, and even the co-operation of the King of France in those projected substitutions and improvements. Through the agency of Cardinal du Bellai (Bishop of Bayonne), he had lately maintained a private correspondence with Francis, who urged him without delay to conclude the marriage with Anne Boleyn. To satisfy his doubts, however, Henry persisted in deferring it till after he should have had a confidential meeting with him at Calais. The intervening time was partly spent in deliberations with Cromwel, then his efficient, if not his favourite, minister; in theological discussions with Cranmer; and, above all, in the delightful society of Anne Boleyn, with whom he now more openly associated.

During the last year she had resided in her father's mansion, at Durham House,* but frequently rode in public with the King and his courtiers, in their pleasurable excursions to Richmond and Windsor. At this period Cranmer, who was still domesti-

* On the site of the Adelphi. It was a spacious and magnificent mansion, remarkable for having been the house where the guilty Earl and Countess of Somerset lived several years without speaking to each other.

cated in her family, spent much of his time in Anne's society, and zealously improved the opportunity for infusing into her mind his own sentiments respecting the Reformation. In his correspondence with the Earl of Wiltshire, he mentions her association with the King in a manner that plainly shows that he considered it as a favourable omen. "The Countess," he writes in one of his letters, "is well. The King and the Lady Anne rode to Windsor yesterday, and to-night they be expected at Hampton-Court. God be their* guide." From the emphasis with which Cranmer dwells on this circumstance, it is obvious that he anticipates from their increasing intimacy results the most auspicious to the progress of religious liberty. This idea was too flattering to Anne to be rejected; and the enthusiasm which it inspired in some degree relieved the cares and dignified the pursuits of ambition. Fortified by the decisions of the most celebrated divines of Europe, she conceived the dissolution of Henry's union with Catherine to be an indispensable act of duty; and it is probable that this persuasion, by reconciling her to herself, increased her happiness and her benevolence. After his formal separation from Catherine, Henry spent the summer of 1532 in a running progress† through Middlesex and Berkshire. In whatever place he sojourned, Anne Boleyn had also a temporary residence in its vicinity; and they were every day accustomed to meet on some chosen spot, and to spend many hours in walking and riding together.‡ During the progress of the

* Strype's Cranmer. † Hall.

† Some of these scenes are still preserved in traditional remembrance. In the neighbourhood of Staines was a nunnery, which is said to have sometimes afforded Anne Boleyn a temporary retreat; and about a mile distant stood a yew-tree, which was believed to have been

divorce, Henry had acquired a keener relish for rural recreations, and the privileges of domestic privacy; he was no longer the frolic-loving prince, who had delighted to surprise his consort in the fantastic disguise of Robin Hood,—who was first in the lists, and foremost in the dance. Of his domestic habits and manners at this period, we have a pleasing picture in the correspondence of Cardinal du Bellai, who appears to have been admitted to his familiar intimacy; and the following letter, addressed to the Grand Master, Montmorenci, offer some amusing details of royal hospitality:*—

"I should be unjust, not to acknowledge the handsome and very friendly attentions I have received from the King (and his court), and in particular the familiar intimacy to which he has admitted me. I am every day alone with him hunting; he chats familiarly of his private affairs, and takes as much trouble to make me a partaker of his sports and his pleasures, as if I were in reality the superior personage. Sometimes Madame Anne joins our party; each equipped with the bow and arrows, as is, you know, the English style in hunting. Sometimes he places us both in a spot where we shall be sure to see him shoot the deer as they pass; and whenever he reaches a lodge appropriated to his servants, he alights to tell of all the feats that he has performed, and of all that he is about to do. The Lady Anne presented me with a complete hunting-suit, including a hat, a bow and arrow, and a greyhound. Do not fancy I announce this gift to make you believe I am thought worthy to possess a lady's

the spot where Henry, at a certain hour, was accustomed to meet Anne Boleyn.

* These letters are appended to the History of the Divorce of Henry and Catherine, by Le Grand.

favour. I merely state it to let you see how much this prince values the friendship of our monarch; for whatever this lady does is by King Henry's suggestion."

In another letter, which is dated Hanwell, the cardinal intimates how ardently it is desired by Anne and Henry, that the former should be included in the intended meeting at Calais or Boulogne. "I am convinced our sovereign, if he wished to gratify the King and Madame Anne, could devise nothing better than to authorize me to entreat that she may accompany him to Calais, to be there received and entertained with due respect; (it is nevertheless desirable that there be no company of ladies, since there is always better cheer without them;) but in that case, it would be necessary the King of France should bring the Queen of Navarre to Boulogne, that she in like manner might receive and entertain the King of England; I shall not mention with whom this idea originates, being pledged to secrecy; but you may be well assured I do not write without authority. As to the Queen of France,* she is quite out of the question, as he would not meet her for the world; that Spanish costume is to him as abhorrent as the very devil. It would also give him great pleasure if the King would bring with him his sons, with whom he desires to cultivate a friendship. The Duke of Norfolk assures me, that much good may be expected to result from this interview; and that it will redound to the honour and glory of both nations. Let me however whisper, that our King ought to exclude from his train all imperialists, if any such there be in his court; and to take especial care that no mischievous wags or coxcomical jesters accompany him, a species of character utterly

* The Emperor's sister; consequently too nearly related to the injured Catherine.

detested by this people."—From this brief sketch, it is easy to discover, that to preserve the station which Anne occupied in the King's affections, was a task neither light nor enviable: she had to enter into all his pursuits, whether grave or gay; to manifest an interest in his views and his wishes, however capricious or absurd; above all, she had to watch every thought, to rebut every scruple inimical to the progress of the reforming party. Her more agreeable occupations were to play and sing, to amuse his leisure hours; sometimes, by her persuasive address, to entice his approbation of a liberal and enlightened work; and sometimes, by dint of flattery or tender importunity, it was perhaps her privilege to surprise him into a benevolent action or a generous sentiment. Of herself, two opinions prevailed at this period: the one, that she was privately Henry's wife; the other, that she had long been Henry's mistress. It should however be remembered, that the King's first object was to transmit the crown to his posterity; and that from the unnatural dislike which he appeared at this time to entertain against his daughter, the Princess Mary, he was more than ever anxious to secure the legitimate claims of any offspring with which he might hope to be blessed by Anne Boleyn. That he had long relinquished the hope, and even the wish, to induce Anne to listen to dishonourable proposals, must be evident to all, who, with an unprejudiced mind, have perused his correspondence; nor is it credible that, had she condescended to be his mistress, she would ever have been permitted to become his wife. To be crowned—to be proclaimed a queen, had long been the idol of her ambition; was it possible she should tamely abandon the object for which she had already sacrificed so much, at the moment when it was almost within her grasp? But the

correspondence already referred to is sufficient to annihilate the suspicion. Henry was evidently so jealous of Anne's dignity, that he wished the Queen of Navarre to be included in the party at Boulogne, that whatever courtesy was shown by Anne to the King of France, might be repaid by Margaret to the King of England. Is it credible that Henry would have exacted such homage for his mistress? or that, at the moment when he most anxiously wished to conciliate the friendship of Francis, he should have offered this marked, deliberate insult to his beloved sister? But Henry's solicitude for Anne's dignity was not satisfied till, by an unprecedented step, he had advanced her to a rank, which entitled its possessor to familiar association with the most illustrious personages in Europe. This fortunate expedient was no other than to invest her with the rank and privileges of a marchioness; a title rare and honourable in England, and never before conferred on any unmarried female. The first of September was the day appointed, and Windsor Castle the scene chosen, for the celebration of this solemnity. Early in the morning, the King, who had just arrived from Ampthill, proceeded to the chamber of presence, attended by the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, several of the bishops and principal members of the privy council, and the French ambassadors. Here, surrounded by his courtiers, he took his place under the canopy of state: in the meanwhile, a procession of noblemen, walking two and two, heralded the approach of Anne Boleyn. She was preceded by the beautiful Lady Mary Howard, on whose arm was suspended the furred mantle appropriate to her intended rank of peeress, whilst in her right hand she bore the precious coronet which formed the common badge of nobility. The marchioness elect next appeared, leaning on two peeresses, the Countess of Rutland and the

Countess dowager of Sussex. She was simply dressed in a circote of cloth of gold, richly trimmed with crimson, and on her head wore no other coif than her own braided hair. In her train followed many ladies and gentlemen, habited with suitable magnificence. When she approached the throne, she suddenly paused and thrice courtesied, with the lowest obeisance; then, advancing nearer to her sovereign, knelt down; her ladies assumed the same humble posture. The Garter at Arms then presented to the King a roll of parchment, which was by him delivered to Bishop Gardiner, who, in an audible voice, read the letters patent, in which, it was stated, that for her various excellent and transcendent accomplishments and virtues, Anne was created Marchioness of Pembroke. At the word *investimus*, the ladies all arose, and the King having first received from Anne's hands the mantle, restored it to her, and placed on her head the demi-circular coronet, eagerly anticipating the moment when it should be encircled with a regal diadem.*

The ceremony being concluded, the King and his suite repaired to the College; where, after hearing mass, he ratified by a solemn oath the league with France, to which the French monarch was equally pledged by his ambassador, Monsieur Pomeroy: then was pronounced a Latin oration in praise of amity and concord;

* "There were also delivered to her two several lettres patents; one of her said creation, the other of a gift of a thousand pounds by year, to maintain her estate.

"The Lady Marchioness gave unto Garter King of Armes for her apparell, 8*l.*

"To the officers of arms, 11*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

"And the King gave unto the officers of arms, 5*l.*"

Park's Edition of Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors.

and, finally, the engagement was consummated by a feast in the castle, to which no women were admitted.

On becoming Marchioness of Pembroke, Anne had been presented with a set of jewels* suitable to a princess, and provided with an establishment on a commensurate scale of magnificence. In her progress to Calais with Henry, she was accompanied by several ladies of the first quality; who, since neither the wives nor the daughters of the nobility were included in the arrangements for the meeting, must have gone ostensibly as her personal attendants.† It was probably at this brilliant period of her existence, that Wiatt, beholding in Anne his future queen, ad-

* In Strype's Cranmer, we have the following list of jewels, extracted from the Records of the Jewel Office: —

"One carkeyne of gold antique works, having a shield of gold set with a great rose, containing twelve diamonds, one fair table diamond, one pointed diamond, one table ruby, and three fair hanging pearls; another carcanet of gold, with two hands holding a great owche of gold, set with a great table balasse, one pointed diamond, two table diamonds, one rising with lozenges, the other flat, and one other long-lozenged diamond, four hanging pearls; a thin carkeyne of gold enamelled with black and white, with an owche of gold enamelled white and blue, set with a great rocky ruby, one rocky emerald, one pointed diamond, one table diamond; a harte of a diamond, rising full of lozenges, and one fair hanging pearl; to these were added three other carkeynes equally magnificent; also for an ornament, St. George on horseback, garnished with sixteen small diamonds, and in the belly of the dragon a rocky pearl; to another carkeyne of gold, a similar ornament was appended; to these were added a chain of the Spanish fashion, enamelled white, red, and black. Sent unto the King's highness from Greenwich to Hampton Court by Master Norris, the 21st of September, in the twenty-fourth year of his reign."

† See Hall.

dressed to her the following elegant and tender lines, with which, even as a stateswoman, she could not but be touched and gratified :—

Forget not yet the tried intent
Of such a truth as I have meant;
My great travail so gladly spent,
Forget not yet.

Forget not yet, when first began,
The weary life, ye know—since whan
The suit, the service, none tell can;
Forget not yet.

Forget not yet the great assays,
The cruel wrong, the scornful ways,
The painful patience and delays,
Forget not yet.

Forget not, oh! forget not this,
How long ago hath been, and is,
The mind that never meant amiss,
Forget not yet.

Forget not thine own approved,
The which so long hath thee so loved,
Whose stedfast faith yet never moved;
Forget not this.

Although it can scarcely be suspected that Wiatt seriously cherished for Anne a warmer sentiment than friendship, it was perhaps not without some painful solicitude that he witnessed, during the expedition to Calais, her assumption of royal state, such as could alone be proper in the acknowledged wife of his sovereign. In a sonnet written at this period, he alludes to the royal chains appended to her neck, by which she was designated

as belonging to Cæsar. It might, however, afford some gratification to his pride or delicacy, that she remained with decorous privacy in the Exchequer, in which she had been lodged with the other ladies, whilst the King, attended by the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and the prime of his nobility, proceeded to Boulogne, where Francis, in like manner, accompanied by the King of Navarre, his three sons, and the princes of the blood, awaited his approach. The present meeting was formed under auspices far different from those which had presided at their former interview, in the celebrated Field of Gold. Although both monarchs were still in the vigour or life, time had wrought in them some alterations, perceptible to the most superficial observer. The symmetry of Henry's form was already impaired by corpulence; the vigorous constitution of Francis broken by alternatives of hardship and indulgence, resulting from his misfortunes or his misconduct. Accustomed to contend with noble foes, or to grapple with substantial difficulties, these princes abandoned to others the puerile trophies of the tilting-field, but still retained their original fondness for pomp and splendour; and when they met between Calais and Boulogne, the competition in jewels and cloths of gold between themselves and their lords was still apparent. In elegance of manners Francis was confessedly without a rival; and to their usual fascination was now added the elegance of genuine emotion. When clasping Henry to his breast, he exclaimed, "Sir, you are the person I am most bound to in the world; and for the friendship I have received, I beg you to take me as yours." Henry replied in a suitable strain of cordiality; and they proceeded towards Boulogne, when, to beguile the way, the hawks were loosed, and both the French and English lords eagerly partook of this pastime. As they

approached the town, they descried on the hill a body of five hundred cavaliers, who immediately descended to salute the English party. At the head of this chosen band, were the three eldest sons of Francis, whom he presented to Henry, with these words: "My children, you are no less bound to this Prince than to me, your natural father; for he redeemed me and you from captivity." Henry embraced the youths with the warmest expressions of attachment; and the remainder of this day, like many which succeeded, was spent, both by French and English, in festivity and harmony. But with these convivial pleasures, the two kings intermingled political and theological discussions. It was the aim of Henry to induce Francis to sanction, by example, his own renunciation of papal authority; but to this step the King of France evinced insuperable repugnance, although he heartily concurred in the propriety of the divorce, and the expediency of the projected marriage. During these private conferences, Anne Boleyn might have often trembled lest the friendly dispositions of Francis should be counteracted by his arguments; and it must have been a seasonable relief to her anxiety, when the English monarch led back the French prince to Calais, where her personal influence would turn the balance in her favour. As the Queen of Navarre had not accepted the King of England's invitation, Anne remained in seclusion during the visit of the French monarch; but on the Sunday, when Henry gave a sumptuous feast to the royal party, she devised a masque in the French style, to heighten the entertainment. At the close of the supper, at which both monarchs had been regaled with choice viands and exquisite wines, the doors were thrown open, when the marchioness, followed by seven ladies, all masked, and habited in cloth of gold, entered

the apartment, attended by four damsels, attired in crimson satin; the marchioness immediately challenged the French King to dance; whilst the Countess of Derby selected the King of Navarre; every other lady chose a lord, and the dance began, of which Henry remained a passive spectator, till, plucking from each fair dame her vizor, he introduced the ladies to their admiring partners, and Francis discovered that he had been dancing with Anne Boleyn, whom he had never seen since she quitted his court, a giddy, volatile girl, of all human beings the least likely to become the consort of a great monarch. After mutual compliments, Francis gallantly pressed on her acceptance a jewel, worth fifteen thousand livres, and immediately bade her farewell. Henry attended him to his lodging, where the two Kings took leave with sentiments of real cordiality, far different from those specious professions of gallantry with which they had, twelve years before, amused themselves and their respective courts. On the following morning, Francis returned to Boulogne; and, a few days after, the English monarch and his suite re-embarked for England, fully resolved to espouse the woman who had so long possessed his affections: but it is a curious fact, that there is no point of history more uncertain than the precise period at which the marriage actually took place. By many of the chroniclers, and some of our best historians, it is fixed on the very day on which Henry and Anne landed at Dover; but, if concealment were the object, it should seem more likely that it had been performed at Calais: by other authorities the ceremony is deferred to the first of January, when it is stated to have been privately performed by Dr. Lee, in the presence of the Earl and Countess of Wiltshire, and two or three other con-

fidential friends. According to either opinion,* the marriage must have been solemnized previous to the sentence of divorce definitively pronounced against Catherine.

By the authority of the convocation, an episcopal court was convened at Dunstable, in the vicinity of Catherine's residence,† to which she was once more cited; on not answering the citation she was declared contumacious, and the long-suspended sentence of divorce finally pronounced by Cranmer.

By the reforming party this decisive measure was hailed as auspicious of future triumph, and whatever sympathy might be awakened by Catherine's unmerited degradation, the popularity of the King's late administration was such as to silence or overpower the murmurs of discontent. In the council, much dissension prevailed on this subject. Gardiner temporized; Cromwel and Cranmer exulted; the Duke of Norfolk secretly deprecated the consequences that might ensue to the Roman party: and Sir Thomas More, although he had cordially concurred in the first steps against the national clergy, anticipating from the present measure a total separation from the church of Rome, resigned the great seal, which was immediately transferred to Sir Thomas Audley. Every obstacle to his wishes being removed, the King caused a proclamation to be issued on Easter-even, for the coronation of his beloved wife, Queen Anne; and letters were sent to the Mayor and other municipal officers, directing them to conduct his consort, with the accustomed ceremonies, from Greenwich to the Tower, and "to see the city garnished with pageants, according to ancient custom, for her re-

* In Wiatt's Life of Queen Anne Bolen, it is decidedly stated to have been solemnized on the first of January.

† At Ampthill.

ception." Whatever difference of opinion existed respecting the marriage, a general sensation of interest was created by the coronation; a ceremony indispensably necessary to efface the impressions produced by the ambiguity of Anne's former position, and to secure, by a solemn national act, the legitimacy of her future offspring. The coronation of a Queen-consort, was a spectacle of which the novelty was well calculated to attract attention. Half a century had revolved since Henry the Seventh of Lancaster reluctantly permitted this tribute of respect to be offered to the amiable Elizabeth Plantagenet. An interval of twenty-three years had elapsed, since Henry the Eighth had been crowned with his now rejected Catherine; and although the present ceremony was perhaps not entitled to the same magnificence which had been displayed on that occasion, it might aspire to even superior elegance and taste, since its object was a woman in the prime of youth and beauty, the history of whose romantic fortunes had been the familiar theme of conversation to every country in Europe; for whose exaltation a part of the national system had actually been subverted; or rather, perhaps, by whose ambition a vestige of national independence had been restored. The prelude of this solemnity, which on Whit-Sunday was to be concluded, commenced on the Thursday in Easter-week, with the ceremony of conducting the Queen from Greenwich to the Tower of London; a spectacle not only offering the attraction of picturesque beauty, but equally calculated to gratify patriotic feeling and to captivate the imagination. At three o'clock the civic fleet of fifty barges, representing the various commercial companies* of London, was

* Many of the mottoes appended to their respective flags, conveyed religious sentiments favourable to the school of Wickliffe or Luther.

in readiness for the Queen's embarkation. The awnings were of cloth of gold, or silk, emblazoned with the arms of England, and ornamented with various curious pageants, among which the Queen's appropriate device of a falcon was eminently conspicuous.* Next to the Mayor's boat, and in a manner committed to his tutelary protection, appeared the royal barge, in which, superbly attired in cloth of gold, sat Anne, surrounded by her obsequious ladies. A hundred barges belonging to the nobility followed, magnificently ornamented with silk or cloth of gold, gliding on in harmonious order to measured strains of music. Innumerable streamers waved in the wind, to which were attached bells, floating on the air with responsive melody. The river was covered with boats; the shores were lined with spectators; and it might have been supposed that London was deserted of its inhabitants, but for the innumerable multitudes collected near the Tower to witness the Queen's disembarkation. Never, since the birth of her ambitious hopes, had Anne experienced such exquisite gratification; and never, perhaps, was she destined to realize another day of genuine felicity! The regal diadem to which she had so long aspired—that phantom of greatness, to which she had sacrificed the brilliant hours of youth, the purest sources of happiness—was now secured to her possession. The little interval of time that was yet to intervene before the crown should actually be placed on her head, gave to this ante-

Of the Grocers' (incorportrated under Edward the Third), the motto was, "God grant grace;" of the Fishmongers', (Henry the Eighth), "All worship be to God only;" the Goldsmiths' (Richard the Second), "To God only be all glory;" of the Clothworkers' (Henry the Eighth), "My trust is in God alone."

* In one of the boats was a mount on which sat virgins melodiously singing, in honour of the new Queen.

taste of sovereignty a peculiar zest of enjoyment; and, without feeling the pressure of royal care, she gloried in the splendour, she reposed in the consciousness of supreme pre-eminence. The desire of pleasing had hitherto exposed her to censure; but vanity assumed the character of benevolence in a Queen whose looks, and even whose gestures, were watched with impassioned devotion, and who sought by winning smiles and gracious language, not only to inspire enthusiasm, but to impart delight. On this day, at least, she might indulge the hope, that she was the object of a sympathy more unequivocally flattering than the most adulatory homage. Her approach to the Tower was heralded by a discharge of artillery, "the like whereof," says Hall, "was never heard before;" which was lost amidst the shouts, and answered by the spontaneous acclamations of the people.

Among the assembled multitude, there were, perhaps, few who quitted the scene indifferent to the future welfare of the woman, who had that day been the object of universal curiosity and attention: such is the interest excited by situations of enterprise and danger, and so grateful to the mind is the contemplation of those rare achievements, of which the unexpected success seems, by a felicitous experiment, to extend the ordinary limits of human destiny.

On the succeeding Saturday Anne went in procession through the streets of London, borne in a litter, magnificently arrayed, and unveiled to public view, precisely as, nineteen years before, Mary Queen of France had made her triumphal entry through the streets of Paris. On Whit-Sunday the spectacle closed with the most imposing, though least elegant part of the ceremony, the actual coronation.

Anne was led to the church in gorgeous state; her train borne by the aged Duchess of Norfolk, and the Archbishops of York and Canterbury; whilst she herself leaned for support on the arm of her father, to whose prudence and vigilance, even more than to her own personal attractions, she was indebted for her extraordinary elevation. In her train followed peers and peeresses, knights, commoners, and gentlewomen: to the practised eye the rank of each lady was designated by the powdered border that embellished the mantle or robe; and whilst the wife or daughter of a peer wore over a circot of scarlet a mantle fringed with ermine, the knight's consort was simply attired in a short gown, her shoulders unencumbered with the gorgeous trappings of nobility. After a variety of tedious forms and ceremonies,* the heavy sceptre was placed in one hand, and the ivory globe in the other; at the conclusion of the last anthem Anne gladly resigned St. Edward's ponderous crown for a less oppressive diadem, and no sooner was it placed on her head, than at the same instant each marchioness put on her crescent, wrought with flowers, each countess assumed her plain coronet, and every king at arms exhibited the broad gilt crown, with which, during that day at least, he was permitted to sustain his part in monarchical pageantry; finally, amidst these reflected images of regality, the new Queen withdrew under a gorgeous canopy, borne by the four Cinque Barons, with all the dignity and self-possession that became a queen. But the spectacle was not concluded; Anne had to sit under the cloth of estate during the livelong feast, of which each course was heralded by trumpets, whilst the most illustrious peers of England performed the duties of domestic

* For a more minute account of the ceremony, see the extract from Stow at the end of the volume.

attendants. At the close of the repast she rose, and, with an air of mingled majesty and sweetness, advanced to the middle of the hall, where the Mayor, according to ancient custom, presented to her the hippocras in a cup of gold, which, having raised to her lips, she returned to him with a graceful compliment, and left the hall, to receive the more cordial congratulations of her enamoured husband, who, accompanied by the French ambassadors, had taken his station at the window of an apartment adjoining the hall, from whence he had commanded a full view of the ceremony.

With whatever pride or pleasure he might have contemplated Anne's triumph, it was impossible he should have entirely excluded the recollection of that memorable two-and-twentieth of June, when he and the now rejected Catherine had been crowned together. He missed the presence of his beloved sister Mary, already languishing of a disease which was destined to prove mortal; and, amidst the gayeties of this hymeneal triumph, must have been painfully reminded that he had himself approached the autumnal season of existence.

To the Earl and Countess of Wiltshire this day of triumph could not but awaken some correspondent fears. Experience had taught them to distrust the constancy of Henry's affections, and to dread the effects of his resentment. They had seen their daughter raised to a pinnacle of greatness; but her fate depended on his caprice: the breath of his displeasure would precipitate her to destruction.

In Anne herself, the event of the day must have inspired some serious thoughts to chasten and depress her former exultation.

From the establishment of the Norman dynasty, no private

gentlewoman, before Elizabeth Woodville, had been permitted to ascend the throne.* With that solitary example were associated the mournful and appalling images of two murdered sons, a neglected daughter, and, most terrible of all, the dreary prison in which the once idolized Queen had been condemned to drag out the last period of life, the victim of Henry of Richmond's suspicious tyranny. The contemplation of such a picture might have awed and subdued a temper less ardent, a spirit less enthusiastic; but to Anne Boleyn it lent a desperate resolution, and she resolved to live or die as became a queen; to win the affections and command the respect of the people.

* Elizabeth died in the Abbey of Bermondsey, to which she had been confined by her son-in-law, Henry the Seventh.

CHAPTER VIII.

SEQUEL OF THE HISTORY OF QUEEN ANNE BOLEYN.

Cares of Royalty—The Duke of Norfolk—The Duchess—Anne's Attendants—Gardiner—Luther—Designs of the Reformers—Transubstantiation—Latimer—The Court—Birth of the Princess Elizabeth—The Christening—Elizabeth's Household—Sources of Chagrin—The Nun of Bocking—Fate of Fisher and More—Henry's Theology—Anne's Protection of Protestants—Mission to Germany—Hopes of an Heir—Diminution of Henry's Affection—Jane Seymour—Catherine's Death—Discovery of Jane's Intrigue by Anne—Illness of Anne—Designs of Henry—His Spies—Lady Rochford—Anne's Charities—Norris and Weston—Calumnies—Troubles of Anne—The King's Policy—The Fatal Tournament—Arrest of Westmoreland and Norris—Anne arrested—Committed to the Tower—Her Deportment in Prison—Her Attendants—Her Answer to Henry's demand of a Confession—Her last Letter to the King—Her subsequent Deportment—The Judicial Court—The Trial—The Sentence—Anne's Address to the Duke of Norfolk—Cause of her Condemnation—Her Conduct after Condemnation—Her intercession for the Princess Elizabeth—Her Conversation with Kingston—Her Execution—Injustice of the Sentence.

In ardent minds, the aspirations of ambition are often associated with the amiable sympathies of benevolence, the love of power becomes identified with the love of virtue, and beautiful images of felicity are blended with romantic and magnificent illusions of glory. In ascending the throne, Anne appears to have expected that such dreams of youthful fancy were to be realized: her first impulse was to exalt her family, and to dispense all the goods of fortune to her most remote connections;

her next, to justify the confidence reposed in her efforts by the reformers; from all eyes, all hearts, to receive spontaneous homage; to reign in the affections of her husband and his people;—these were the objects for which she had so long submitted to voluntary penance and privation, and for these she exulted in possessing a crown. A short time was sufficient to prove to her the fallacy of these expectations. After the first few days devoted to festivity and congratulation,* she became sensible of the onerous duties attached to pre-eminence. In regal state, the gratification of novelty was soon exhausted; its constraint continued; its cares redoubled. The weight of St. Edward's crown, of which she had felt the momentary pressure on the memorable day of coronation, was every day experienced, unaccompanied by those emotions of joy and complacency which it originally created.

Independent of the anxiety, the doubts, the diffidence, with which she must have watched the fluctuations of Henry's capricious fancy, she had a constant source of uneasiness in the discordant views which prevailed among her nearest connections. Whilst the Countess of Wiltshire coalesced with the Howards, in whose hereditary pride she participated, the earl regarded with distrust and aversion the Duke of Norfolk, who repined that his own daughter, the beautiful Lady Mary, or at least some rela-

* At one of those civic feasts to which Henry condescended to accompany his bride was introduced the elegant novelty of a lemon, a luxury hitherto unknown to an English table. To an epicure, such as Henry, perhaps the acquisition of a castle in France would have been less acceptable; and such was the importance attached to the discovery, that, in a bill belonging to the Leathersellers' Company, it was recorded that this royal lemon cost six silver pennies.

tive of the name of Howard, had not been elevated to the throne. Insensible to the kindness with which Anne employed her influence to promote the union of Lady Mary with the Duke of Richmond, whom the King once intended to include in the succession, he artfully coalesced with Gardiner, the determined enemy of Lutheranism; not without the hope that, like another Wolsey, he should acquire unbounded influence in the King's counsels. As the brother-in-law of Henry the Seventh, he spurned the title of the Queen's uncle, but passionately desired to become the despotic minister of his sovereign. On his part, the Earl of Wiltshire was mortified at the preference shown to the Duke of Norfolk; as the King's father-in-law, he had, perhaps, expected a ducal coronet, or some signal mark of royal favour. Prudence might keep him silent; but his chagrin could not but be visible to his daughter, when he resigned his public employments, and retired from public life. With the Earl of Surrey Anne lived in cordial friendship, and was apparently idolised by his beautiful sister; but little reliance could be placed in the sincerity of this lady, who, some years after, with unblushing perfidy, furnished the evidence, however frivolous, on which her brother was convicted of treason. With Elizabeth,*

* The Duchess lived in Hertfordshire, on a stipend of three hundred marks per annum; but she was destined for trials more severe than indigence and neglect, or even injustice. She saw her gallant son devoted to death; her unnatural daughter conspire against a brother's life; whilst her ungrateful husband survived a long imprisonment, to die in peace and honour under the auspices of his congenial kinswoman Queen Mary. The remains of this unfortunate woman were consigned to the magnificent mausoleum of the Howards, at Lambeth; and it seemed the consummation of her wretched destiny, that even her

Duchess of Norfolk, the ill-fated daughter of the Duke of Buckingham, Anne could have had no intercourse, since she was supplanted in her husband's affections, and driven from his house by injurious treatment. Of all her domestic connections, the individual most endeared to her heart was George Boleyn Lord Rochford: but even this fraternal friendship was embittered by his wife, from whom she had received repeated proofs of aversion and hostility. With a true sense of dignity, she scorned, as a queen, to resent the injuries offered to Anne Boleyn; for her brother's sake, she permitted even her *ancient* enemy to be one of the ladies of her bedchamber; and, by this

dust should be mingled with that of her enemies and persecutors; but her tomb was insulated; and the following epitaph, written by her brother, Henry Lord Stafford, commemorates her virtues:

"Farewell good lady, and sister dear,
In earth we shall never meet here;
But yet I trust, with Godis grace,
In Heaven we shall deserve a place.
Yet thy kindness shall never depart,
During my life, out of my heart:
Thou art to me, both far and near,
A brother, a sister, a friend most dear,
And to all thy friends most near and fast
When fortune sounded his froward blast.
And to the poor a very mother,
More than was known to any other;
Which is thy treasure now at this day,
And for thy soul they heartily pray.
So shall I do, that here remain;—
God preserve thy soul from pain.

By thy most bounden Brother,
HENRY LORD STAFFORD."

Aubrey's History of Lambeth.

fatal generosity, eventually furnished the opportunity, so long desired, of accelerating her own ruin. With the same liberal spirit she recalled her aunt, Lady Edward Boleyn, to the place she had occupied under Catherine, although of all women she appears to have been the least congenial to her tastes and feelings. With Wiatt, now promoted to the office of ewerer of the royal household, she no longer permitted any familiar intercourse, and in this instance her prudence appears to have been repaid with gratitude and honour: she continued, however, to admire and patronize his talents, and was, perhaps, still unconsciously the muse that inspired his happiest effusions; whilst his sister, Mrs. Margaret Lee,* a woman of irreproachable character, became one of her chosen and confidential attendants. Amongst the other ladies of her establishment, were the Countesses of Worcester and Oxford, women of unsullied fame, whose presence seemed to guaranty the honour and discretion of their mistress.

An extreme susceptibility to praise was, perhaps, the vulnerable point of Anne's character, and that by which she was frequently exposed to pain and disappointment. Within the first month of her triumph, at the moment when, to undiscerning eyes, she seemed to have reached the pinnacle of felicity, she was humbled by a poor Franciscan friar, who, in Henry's chapel at Greenwich, and even in his presence, intrepidly denounced his dereliction of faith to Catherine, and audaciously compared him to the wicked Ahab. Henry listened with composure, and quietly admonished the friar to retract: he persisted, and was supported by other monks of his fraternity. Henry affected to smile at their vehemence; but the monastery was suppressed, and all the brothers of the community were banished.

* Nott's Life of Wiatt.

On another occasion, Anne had to experience a more painful mortification—that of disappointing the hopes attributed to her influence. She was notoriously at the head of the reformers, and delighted to believe that she was really destined to watch, like a tutelary angel, over that oppressed party. Experience soon showed the fallacy of this expectation; when, by the artifices of Gardiner, a young man of parts and learning, and of exemplary conduct, was sacrificed to clear the King's character from the imputation of heretical apostasy. To explain this circumstance, it is necessary briefly to remark the little progress hitherto made by the new doctrines in England.

To the cultivated mind nothing is more delightful than to measure, with the strength of potentates, and the trophies of conquerors, those auspicious changes in the moral aspect of society, of which a solitary individual is sometimes permitted to become the agent: such an example is presented by Luther, who, in sixteen years, by the force of mental energy alone, had imparted a new character to a large part of Europe. Whilst three successive Popes preached a crusade against the enemies of Christendom, this champion of free inquiry denounced the errors and corruptions of Christianity. When the two great rival monarchs of France and Spain lavished blood and treasure on frivolous objects, of which no vestige now remains but in the records of human misery, the regenerated monk presented to his countrymen a translation of the Scriptures; and thus for ever abolished that mental vassalage, in which a small privileged class had hitherto held the great mass of mankind. In England the progress of Luther's principles was neither rapid nor decisive. The clergy strenuously resisted the importation of an English Bible, without which it was obvious no radical changes in the system of superstition could be effected.

At this period the English reformers might be divided into two classes, of which the first and most important derived their opinions from Wickliffe, rather than Luther. Of these old English patriots, it appears to have been the first object to abolish papal supremacy, and the next to circumscribe the power of the clergy, for whose prerogative or emolument the usages of penance, purgatory, pilgrimage, and other anile superstitions were obviously perpetuated. From the commencement of his reign, Henry had participated in the contempt of the reformers for monastic communities, and cordially concurred in Wolsey's plan of suppressing the inferior monasteries, and establishing in their place schools and colleges for the regeneration of the clergy.*

Although he had started against Luther as the champion of Rome, he was jealous of the encroachments of the Anglican church, and eagerly embraced every occasion for checking their rapacity and presumption. With these prepossessions in favour of Cromwel's measures, he willingly listened to his proposal of augmenting the royal revenue, by the sacrifice of ecclesiastical establishments; but his prejudices to Lutheranism remained unaltered; nor, with the exception, perhaps, of Anne Boleyn and Cranmer, does it appear that Wiatt, or Brandon, or any of the ministerial reformers, had hitherto extended their views beyond the abolition of papal jurisdiction, and the retrenchment of those ecclesiastical privileges maintained and fostered by popular super-

* In 1512, the decline of conventual establishments was already perceptible; when a pious layman, who proposed to appropriate a certain fund for the erection of a monastery, was dissuaded from it by Bishop Fox, who recommended to him rather to institute schools for the instruction of youth, than to multiply nurseries of sloth and sensuality.

stition, which affected the higher rather than the lower orders of society. Sensible that this pernicious empire was founded on ignorance and credulity,* they secretly encouraged the circulation

* The priestcraft employed appears to have been precisely such as, till lately, existed in all Catholic countries, and consisted of pretensions to miraculous relics, and other preternatural agencies. Four times every year was pronounced a curse against certain offences. The sermons were sometimes plain, practical discourses, but frequently interlarded with legends calculated to nourish a servile devotion to the priests. In a sermon against irreverence, is introduced an anecdote of St. Austin, who, "having found two women prating together, saw that the Fiend sat in their necks, writing on a great roll what the women said; and letting it fall, Austin went and took it up, and having asked the women what they talked, they said their Paternoster; then Austin read the roll, and there was never a good word in it." In a sermon on burying the dead, the following anecdotes were given of spirits:—"Many walk on nights, when buried in holy place; but that is not long of the Fiend, but the grace of God to get them help: and some be guilty, and have no rest. Four men stole an Abbot's ox to their larder; the Abbot did a sentence, and cursed them: so three of them were shriven, and asked mercy; the fourth died, and was not assoiled, and had not forgiveness; so when he was dead, the spirit went by night and feared all the people about, that none durst walk after sun-down. Then, as the parish priest went a-night with God's body to housel a sick man, this spirit went with him, and told him what he was, and why he walked, and prayed the priest to go to his wife that they should go both to the Abbot, to make him amends for the trespass, and go to assoil him, for he might have no rest: and anon the Abbot assoiled him, and he went to rest and joy for evermore." The drift of such discourses was obviously to keep the people in ignorance and subjection to the will of their priests. The people were also told, that "lewd men and women to dispute of this sacrament are utterly forbidden; for it is enough for them to believe as holy church teacheth."

of the Scriptures, and of other tracts calculated to enlighten the people. Several enterprising merchants co-operated in this undertaking; the bishops took the alarm, and on the pretext that it was a heretical translation, Tindall's Bible was denounced, and all who could be convicted of promoting its circulation prosecuted with unrelenting rigour.* The most dreadful demoralization

* Wolsey, though not always disposed to second prelatical zeal against heretics, concurred in the persecution of Tindall and his adherents. Bishop Tonstall, with more good-nature than judgment, thought to remove the evil by buying up all the remaining copies of the English Bible, by which means he enabled the reformers to put forth another edition. Sir Thomas More pursued a far different course from Tonstall. Not having Wolsey's motives for counteracting the Anglican clergy, he called on the bishops to extirpate heresies and punish heretics, and enforced the penal laws against them. In the bishops' courts cognisance was taken of many delinquents, on the charge of having taught their children the Lord's Prayer in English; for having read forbidden books; or, in conversation, expressed contempt for such observances as penance and pilgrimage, the worshipping of saints and images: of these, the majority abjured from terror, and were thus taught to practise deception and hypocrisy. During More's administration, Hilton, Bilney, Byfield, and Bainham were committed to the flames. Indulgence was leased for forty days to any who would bring a faggot to aid in destroying a heretic.

Sir Thomas More is said to have once spared a heretic for a *bon mot*. In examining a refractory Lutheran, whose name was Silver, the Chancellor reminded him, in allusion to his death, that silver must be tried in the fire:—"Ay," cried the culprit, "but quicksilver will not abide it."

This is not the only instance in which a species of punning or quibbling obtained special favour. In an insurrection, which the Duke of Suffolk had been sent to quell, in 1525, having defeated the insurgents, he demanded to see their captain; on which one of the ringleaders

was produced by these severities:* husbands betrayed their wives; unnatural children conspired against the existence of their parents; friends and brothers became spies and informers; truth and integrity were banished from domestic society, and those flagitious crimes, by cupidity and ambition fostered in a court, were transplanted to the lower walks of life, where they seemed likely to destroy every vestige of genuine piety and national honour. Hitherto the doctrine of transubstantiation had been little agitated, either because the Lutherans had been counteracted by the want of general information, or that the practical and oppressive evils resulting from the existing system superseded all other considerations. In certain minds of a more reflective cast, these abstruse subjects of speculation began, however, to occupy attention; but it is remarkable that Frith, although he had plunged deeply into theology, and rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation, continued to deprecate all public controversies on the subject, and was alone induced, by the solicitations of certain religious friends, to commit to paper those well-digested arguments which formed the grounds of his internal convictions. Carelessness or treachery led to their publication; and Frith, who, from motives of humanity, might have hesitated to proclaim his tenets at this perilous crisis, felt himself imperatively bound by honour to defend them; and, after a manly vindication of their truth, sealed his faith with the crown of martyrdom.

boldly answered,—"Our captain is *necessity*, and *poverty* is our comrade." The Duke felt the truth of the sentiment, and the wretched vagrants found mercy.

* See Strype, Collier, &c.

Although Anne appears to have been uniformly opposed to persecution, she was in this instance counteracted by Gardiner, and by the King's pertinacious zeal for the Catholic church. But if Anne was not permitted to rescue Frith, she had soon after the happiness to achieve the deliverance of the celebrated Hugh Latimer, who, from a persecutor, was become a champion of the new sect, and, with characteristic zeal, now defended those principles he had formerly condemned. His apostasy excited alarm; and, in the depth of winter, he was summoned from his vicarage to answer for his innovation before Stokesly, Bishop of London, by whose authority he was committed to prison. Alone and unprotected, Latimer was now the devoted victim of bigotry and malice; but Anne's humanity became his advocate. In the full tide of fortune and felicity, she watched over the safety of one, of whom she only knew that he dared to preach as he believed, and to practise what he preached. Impressed with her solicitations, the King interposed, and the pastor was restored to life and liberty. Anxious to see and hear the preacher so celebrated for the force and pathos of his eloquence, the Queen had but to intimate her wish, and it was gratified. But it was with the firmness and simplicity of an apostle that Latimer came to court, not to flatter, but to admonish or reprove; to expose the vanity of human expectations; to exalt the dignity and importance of the relative duties, and to call the mind to the awful contemplation of eternity. Anne received with docility, or rather, perhaps, imbibed with enthusiasm, the lessons of her austere monitor; and, with the earnestness that marks sincerity, entreated him to point out whatever appeared amiss in her conduct and deportment. Latimer replied not as a courtier but as a sage, who despised the blandishments of women, and had long been insen-

sible to the influence of beauty; he seriously exhorted the Queen to inculcate the duties of morality and piety on her attendants, and strenuously to enforce her precepts by example.*

In lending protection to Latimer, Anne might be prompted by compassion, or enthusiasm, or even that love of popularity which appears to have been her ruling passion; but the esteem and attachment she afterwards manifested for this rigid teacher, bespeaks a strength of character, and indicates capacities for thinking and feeling, never to be found in an ordinary mind; nor would it be candid to refer to policy alone a conduct evidently arising from purer motives and nobler sentiments. But it may be asked, why it should appear incredible, that Anne was really penetrated by the force of those arguments to which she listened with reverence? Raised to the summit of human greatness, fatigued with the cares, and, perhaps, even cloyed with the pleasures of ambition, why should she not at length seek happiness or tranquillity, where only they are to be found, in the faithful discharge of moral and religious duties?

Under the auspices of Latimer, a striking change was effected in the exterior of Anne's court: habits of industry and application were introduced; the Queen not only assisted in the tapestry, which afterwards embellished Hampton Court,† but, by her

* See Strype, Fox, and Gilpin's Life of Latimer.

† "Those that have seen, at Hampton Court, the rich and exquisite works, for the greater part wrought by her own hand and needle, and also of her ladies, esteem them the most pretious furniture, that are to be accounted amongst the most sumptuous that any prince might be possessed of; and yet far more rich and pretious were those works in the sight of God, which she caused her maidens, and those about her, daily to woork, in shirts and smocks for the poore; but not staying here,

own example, encouraged the ladies to work for the poor: to discountenance levity and idleness, she presented to each of them a small manuscript volume, moral or devotional, which was substituted for the looking-glass, or the legend of chivalry,* formerly appended to the girdle. By this strictness she perhaps created enemies; but that the King approved her conduct, is evident, from the promotion of Latimer to the see of Worcester: nor can he be supposed to have limited her munificence, which must have far exceeded the queenly revenue. With equal wisdom and liberality, she directed a certain sum to be distributed to every village in England, for the relief of its poor or distressed inhabitants. In imitation of her father and Wolsey, she maintained a certain number of promising youths at college, and took upon herself the care of their future preferment.† To many of these regulations she might have been prompted by Cranmer, or aided by Cromwel; but to have discovered their utility, and to have thus given a steady direction to the impulses of benevolence, is equally creditable to the feelings of her heart and the powers of her understanding.

During the first year of her marriage, Anne perceived no diminution in Henry's attachment. Not even the disappoint-

her eie of charity, her hand of bounty passed through the whole land; each place felt that heavenly flame burning in her; al times will remember it." Wiatt's Queen Anne Bolen.—Fox and Strype attest the same facts.

* The popular reading of the day, so contemptuously stigmatized by Ascham.

† Docter Hethe and Sir William Paget, both originally patronized by the Earl of Wiltshire, were afterwards protected by his daughter; as was Dr. Thirbly, afterwards Bishop of Ely.

ment of his dearest hopes (which all centered in the possession of a son), for whose accomplishment he had looked to her with superstitious confidence; not even the birth of a daughter, however contrary to his anticipations, deprived her of his tenderness; and he received, with becoming gratitude, the infant Elizabeth, who was universally acknowledged his presumptive heiress. The christening was solemnized with all the pomp of royal magnificence;* but to those, who, like the Duke of Nor-

* In the ordonnances of the Countess of Richmond and Derby, it is directed, that there should be provided for the Queen's bed, two pair of sheets, of linen, each four yards broad, and five yards long; two head sheets, three yards broad, and four yards long; two long, and two square pillows of fustian, stuffed with fine down. A pane of scarlet, furred with ermine, and embroidered with crimson velvet, upon velvet, or rich cloth of gold; and a head-sheet, of like cloth of gold furred with ermine. A kevertour of fine lawn, of five breadths, and six yards long; a mattrass stuffed with wool; a feather bed, with a bolster of down; a spawer of crimson satin, embroidered with crowns of gold; the King and Queen's arms, and other devices lined with double torlenon, garnished with fringe of silk, blue, russet, and gold; four cushions of crimson damask cloth, cloth of gold; a round mantle of crimson velvet, plain furred with ermine, for the Queen to wear about her in her pallet. In the christening procession, it was required, that a duchess should carry the child, if a prince or earl; if a princess, a countess was to bear the train; the church and altar were to be hung with cloth of gold; before the child were borne two hundred torches, which, on reaching the church, were all placed around the font; the desk was to be elevated, to afford the people an opportunity of witnessing the ceremony. In the infant's hand was placed a small taper, which he was to deposit on the altar. At the churchdoor, stood the serjeant of the King's pantry with a towel of reynes about his neck, and a salt-cellar in his hand, ready to take a grain of the salt

folk and his stepmother, and the Earl and Countess of Wiltshire could recollect that similar honours had been showered on the now disinherited Mary, this scene must have appeared a heartless pageant, and the little princess herself but a mock idol, to be worshipped or rejected according to the caprice of an imperious father.

In the King, pride and policy concurred with affection, in suppressing the avowal of his regret; and when the little girl was only three months old, he occupied himself in forming the establishment of her separate household. By this arrangement Anne was divided from her child; but she reigned in her husband's heart; and it seemed almost an article of national faith to believe in the permanence of their mutual love and concord. The artist and the sculptor were employed to commemorate the circumstances of their romantic union; and wherever the ciphers of the King and Anne Boleyn were presented, a true-love's knot was added, in allusion to the tender sentiments which had drawn them to each other. A curious sculpture at Cambridge, of which the object was to eternize the memory of the monarch's fondness, still remains to offer an illustration of the mutability of human passions, more solemn, more impressive, than all that the poet could invent or the moralist teach.*

before it was hallowed. In like manner, the serjeant of the ewer was ready to present to the bishops and sponsors the basin to wash; and the officers of the spicery, as usual, were at hand with the voider of spices.

* At King's College, Cambridge, the choir is separated from the ante-chapel by a screen, added in 1534, in which are the initial ciphers of Henry and Anne Boleyn, interlaced with a true-love's knot. In one of the panels are displayed the arms of Boleyn, impaled with the arms of England. It is well known that the custom of interlacing the

But it belongs not to the greatest potentate to confer felicity. Even in this fairest season of prosperity, Anne had a constant source of chagrin, in the consciousness that her marriage, though acknowledged in France, and some parts of Germany, was disallowed in the other countries of Europe.

From a circumstance, in itself sufficiently trivial, she had the mortification to discover, that the sympathy which Catherine had inspired was not extinct, and that, in her name, the most contemptible agents possessed the means of inflaming the people. The cause of this new chagrin was the nun of Bocking, an ignorant country girl, who, under the tuition of certain fanatics, assumed the character of a prophetess, and boldly denounced the King's death if he persisted in excluding Catherine for Anne Boleyn. The imposture was easily detected; but several persons of distinction were involved in her delinquency, and, among others, Sir Thomas More incurred the suspicion of having

ciphers of friends or lovers was usual in France. Much of this gallantry passed between Francis and his mistress, the Duchess of Hurepoix. At the extremity of the Rue Gillecour, at the corner which it now forms with the Rue Hurepoix, Francis the First erected a small palace, communicating with an hotel that formerly belonged to the Duchess D'Estampes, in the Rue Hirondelle. The fresco painting, the pictures, the tapestry, the salamander, the well-known device of Francis, with various tender emblems and gallant devices, seemed to consecrate this elegant little mansion to love and pleasure. Of these symbols, one of the most remarkable was a heart in flames, suspended between an alpha and an omega, to denote eternal constancy. The bathing-house of the duchess was converted to the stable of an inn, called the Salamander. The apartment of Francis was metamorphosed into a kitchen, and his lady's boudoir was in the occupation of a poor laundress.—St. Foix's Essays on Paris.

encouraged the nun's delusions. The charge was by him disclaimed, but partially proved against Bishop Fisher; who was not only fined and imprisoned, but treated with the most inhuman severity. Many of the offenders were executed, and the remainder were only spared at the intercession of Anne Boleyn: by this humane interference, she might justly hope to increase her popularity with all parties, when another subject arose for persecution in the Act of Succession, establishing the King's supremacy, by which Henry's marriage with Catherine was declared unlawful, and the crown settled exclusively on the issue of his beloved wife, Anne.

To this law, all the King's subjects, who should have attained the age of sixteen, were required to swear allegiance. Amongst the few who openly resisted, were Fisher and More: the former accelerated his fate by consenting to accept from the Pope a cardinal's hat, in defiance of the King's prohibition of correspondence with the court of Rome.* Great offence was given by the execution of this venerable prelate, for his conscientious repugnance to a statute, by which he was required, in direct violation of his principles, to declare the King's former marriage unlawful. The fate of More excited deep and lasting regret. Unhappily this virtuous, but prejudiced man, conceived he should compromise his religious principles, by taking an oath, which, according to the letter of the statute, impugned the legality of the King's former marriage: he offered to swear allegiance to the King's issue by Queen Anne, but rejected the clause which, by invalidating his prior engagements, negatived the authority which he believed to reside in the Su-

* Henry swore, that though the Pope should send the bishop a hat, he would take care he should have no head to wear it.

preme Pontiff. It was in vain that Cromwel besought him to reconsider the case, and rescind the sentence: even Henry sought a pretext for saving his life, without infringing the legal authorities. Anne Boleyn must still more passionately have desired to avert a sacrifice, of which she alone would bear the odium; but More persisted, and, blending the resignation of the saint with the magnanimity of the hero, appeared rather to welcome than to deprecate his fate. The purity of his principles has consecrated his name to posterity, and the errors of the persecutor are forgotten in the virtues of the martyr.

Nothing could be more unpropitious to Anne's interests than these sanguinary measures; and she observed, with alarm, the fluctuations of Henry's wayward mind, who, although he had assumed to himself the rights of supremacy; though he engrossed the tributes formerly offered to the Pope; though he had even prohibited all appeals to Rome, and all submission to the Roman pontiff; yet, with that inconsistency peculiar to his character, he still revolted from the disciples of Luther, and still piqued himself on upholding, with the Catholic faith, many of the grossest errors and superstitions engrafted on its principles. But necessity at length compelled him to listen to the overtures of the German princes who formed the league of Smalcalde. Clement the Seventh was dead, and his successor, Paul the Third, was likely to become a more formidable opponent. At the pontiff's denunciations against himself and his realm, Henry might smile with contempt; but from his union with the Emperor he had serious cause to fear, since he could place little confidence in the alliance of Francis, and had no resources but to coalesce with some other European potentate. The German Protestants, with more reason alarmed by the Emperor's hostility,

not only solicited his assistance, but offered to declare him the chief and protector of their confederacy.

Their importunities, seconded by the arguments of Cranmer and Cromwel, were enforced by Anne's more persuasive eloquence. Henry was not really averse to a proposal so flattering to his political pretensions; nor was he, perhaps, aware, that to Anne's character, and to the esteem and enthusiasm it inspired, he chiefly owed this proof of confidence. It was well known, that she pronounced that day lost in which she had not been permitted to render to a Protestant some service. Her actions justified her professions,* and she repeatedly called on Cromwel to indemnify the merchants who had sustained any injury in person or fortune by promoting the importation of Bibles, or other tracts devoted to the popular cause. In England such conduct might be referred to interest, or to humanity; but in Protestant Germany, where all were inflamed with the zeal and enthusiasm that characterize a new and rapidly increasing sect, the Queen's liberality was proudly attributed to the triumph of Lutheran principles. Unfortunately, the alliance with England, for which, in reality, nothing was necessary but the recognition of the same political interests, was supposed to require a perfect sympathy in religious opinions. Drs. Fox and Hethe were sent to Germany on a mission to the Lutheran divines, with whom many conferences took place, of which the conclusion was little satisfactory to the pride or prejudices of Henry, since even Anne's popularity could not entice them to acknowledge the legality of his divorce, and neither arguments nor promises

* See in Burnet and Strype her letter to Cromwel to redress the wrongs of a Protestant merchant, who had been persecuted for his zeal in promoting the circulation of the Bible.

atoned for his rejection of the Confession of Augsburg. It is, however, more than probable, these difficulties might have been obviated in a subsequent negotiation, but for the influence of Gardiner, who was, at the same time, employed in an embassy to France, which afforded him facilities for counteracting the united efforts of Hethe and Melancthon, and rendering the whole plan abortive. The unprosperous issue of the negotiation was a severe disappointment to Anne, already mortified by the heavy punishments inflicted on certain religious fraternities, which refused to acknowledge the King's supremacy. She appears not to have participated in Henry's aversion for conventual establishments; she at least revolted from the harsh and illiberal means employed in their suppression, and humanely engaged the intrepid Latimer to enforce, in a sermon preached before the King, the impiety of seizing, for his own use, the treasury which he had discovered in the monasteries.* Henry had long stigmatized the monks as the drones of the church, whom the better order of priests despised, and the laity abhorred. To demonstrate the absurdity and illiberality of indiscriminate censures against any particular order of men, we have but to turn to Luther, who belonged to a community of mendicant friars; and if we would seek examples worthy of the purest ages of Christian heroism, they might be found in the prior of the Charter-house, and his companions,†

* See Collier's Ecclesiastical History.

† To Houghton, who was venerated by the people, a pardon was offered at the moment that he was approaching the scaffold, if he would acknowledge the King's supremacy: he replied, "I call the Omnipotent God to witness, that it is not out of obstinate malice I disobey the King, but only for the fear of God, that I offend not the Supreme Majesty of heaven."

the origin of whose sufferings is forgotten in the magnanimity with which they were supported. La Valette and his Knights of Malta expressed not more sublime sentiments than these single-minded men; preferring death to the least infringement of their voluntary engagement—in whom enthusiasm was not kindled by the breath of fame, and whose fidelity asked no recompense from the meed of glory.

Amidst other cares and chagrins incident to her situation, Anne was not exempted from the jealousies of ambition; and she sometimes admitted the apprehension, that if the King coalesced not with the Protestant princes, he might ultimately reconcile himself to the papal see; an event she could not contemplate without the most serious alarm for her own personal interest; but to these unpromising anticipations was opposed a circumstance calculated to inspire the most favourable presage. In the third year of her marriage, she was again permitted to flatter herself that she was destined to present to Henry the long-desired blessing of a son.

Although, from his critical position with Charles and Francis, such an auspicious hope was more than ever necessary to appease the King's solicitude to transmit an undisputed succession; he no longer lavished on his consort those tender attentions she had been accustomed to expect, and to which she was now more than ever entitled. Many circumstances might have gradually conspired to this change, although it had hitherto escaped observation. Since the period of her marriage, Anne's situation had been essentially altered; her mind expanded, her character developed; instead of being merely the private gentlewoman, whose highest ambition was to attract or please, she was become the partner of the throne, the generous queen, who aspired to be a true and affectionate mother of the people.

The enthusiasm she delighted to inspire was far from pleasing to Henry, now that the fervour of passion had subsided, and that he no longer required talents or courage, but unwearied adulation and unconditional obedience. To a jealous egotist her best qualities had, perhaps, the effect of diminishing her attractions; by the zeal with which she carried into effect her plans of reformation, she must have offended one accustomed to consider himself as the sole and exclusive object of attention. It was, perhaps, fatal to her safety, that, in the first transports of affection, Henry had admitted her to a full participation of all the honour and sovereignty formerly conceded to Catherine, and that he not only caused her to be proclaimed Queen Consort of England, but Lady of Ireland. When love declined, it might be suggested that he had sacrificed dignity, and even hazarded security, by this prodigal dispensation. Another unfortunate circumstance was his growing indifference to her father and brother, and his prepossession for the Duke of Norfolk and his sinister counsels. More fatal was the presence of Lady Rochford; who, repining at her exclusion from the confidential conversation of her husband and his sister, conceived against both a diabolical hatred, the most atrocious that ever polluted a female bosom. All these causes combined, might, however, have been inadequate to produce the desired end, but for another agent, who soon gave a fatal impulse to Henry's imperious passions.

The precise period of Jane Seymour's introduction to court is not known; but it is intimated by Anne's biographer (Wiatt), that she was thrown in the King's way for the express purpose of stealing his affections from his once idolized Queen. This young lady was the daughter of Sir John Seymour, of Wolf

Hall, in Wilts;* her two brothers were Esquires of the King's person; ambitious men, eager in the pursuit of fortune, and willing to derive every possible advantage from their sister's beauty. That Jane was eminently distinguished by her personal attractions must be admitted, since we hear of no other fascination that she possessed. Without the talents, the graces, the sensibilities, which gave to Anne such inexhaustible variety of charms, Jane possessed, however, that first bloom of youth which, now that Henry had lost his youthful susceptibility of imagination, and perhaps original delicacy of taste, was powerfully alluring.

It is probable that the inferiority of Jane's mental attainments had also contributed to turn the balance in her favour. But whatever might be her powers of captivation, there is too much reason to believe that she had a ready auxiliary in the Duke of Norfolk, who detested his niece, and execrated the reforming party. At first, the King's attentions to Jane Seymour were clandestine. Anne so little anticipated the impending evil, that her anxiety, singularly misplaced, was directed towards Catherine, who if she survived the King, would, she feared, be at the head of a party

* Sir John Seymour was descended from that William de Saint Mauro, (afterwards contracted to Seimour), who, by the aid of Gilbert, Earl Marshal of Pembroke, recovered Wendy, in Monmouthshire, from the Welsh, in 1240 (Henry the Third). William was of Norman extraction, and progenitor of that Seimour who married one of the daughters of Beauchamp of Hack, a rich baron, who traced his pedigree, in the maternal line, to Sybil, a daughter of the great Earl of Pembroke. The patrimony of the Seimours was augmented by marriage with the heiress of Wolf Hall, one of the Esturmies of Wilts, and they were hereditary guardians of the Forest of Saernbroke, near Marlborough; in memory of which, a hunter's horn, tipt with silver, was worn by the Earls of Hereford.

sufficiently formidable to annul the Act of Succession, with whatever rights or dignities it had conferred on herself and the Princess Elizabeth. From these apprehensions she was suddenly relieved by the news of Catherine's death,* when she unguardedly exclaimed, "Now I am indeed a queen." On that occasion, Anne, usually compassionate, showed less tenderness than the selfish Henry; and the few tears which he shed over Catherine's letter, might have taught her she no longer possessed his heart.

Under the influence of a new passion, and detesting the ties which severed him from Jane Seymour, Henry might justly lament the sacrifices he had made to obtain an object he no longer valued, not perhaps without internally reverting to that season of youth, when he had pledged his faith to a royal bride. Reflections such as these, could not but produce in his mind a temporary sadness, soon succeeded by eager solicitude to transfer to himself whatever property had been possessed by his divorced wife.† A few days after this event, Anne, who had at length, perhaps, received some intimation of her lord's inconstancy, fatally for herself, surprised Jane Seymour listening with com-

* Catherine died at Kimbolton, in Huntingdonshire.

† In her will, Catherine surrendered everything to the King, whom she persisted in addressing as her most dear husband, without naming any executor, saying, "she had nothing to give." On this occasion, Riche, afterwards Lord Chancellor, advised the King, on the grounds of some legal informality, to declare her will void, and, instead of seizing her goods, to apply to the Bishop of Lincoln, in whose diocese she had been at the time of death, to grant an administration of her goods to such persons as his Highness should appoint; and by this means Henry obtained possession of the property, no part of which was appropriated in the manner the Queen had requested.

placency to his protestations of regard, and submitting, without reluctance, to his tender caresses.*

At the first glance, Anne stood transfixed with amazement; but, in an instant, she comprehended that her prosperity was departed: nature sunk under the conflict of contending emotions, and she was prematurely delivered of a dead son. For some time her recovery was doubtful: life at length prevailed, and she received a visit from her royal husband; not to commiserate her sorrows, but upbraidingly to proclaim his own irreparable disappointment. Agonized by this brutal reproach, and the bitter recollections it awakened, the unhappy Queen rashly reminded him, that the calamity had been caused by his unkindness.

These words sealed her fate. Unused to reproof, Henry muttered a fatal prediction, too soon verified,† and left her to an-

* Sanders.—Heylin.

It is difficult to conceive on what principles of morality Jane Seymour has been extolled for her superlative modesty and virtue. It does not appear, that Henry ever offered to her dishonourable proposals; but she certainly scrupled not to encourage his clandestine addresses, and to walk over Anne's corse to the throne. It may, perhaps, be said, that she was merely the agent of her brothers' ambition; even this cannot excuse the coarse apathy with which she submitted to become Henry's wife on the very day when he had destroyed her rival. Both Catholics and Protestants have extolled this lady; the former from malevolence to her predecessor, the latter from complaisance to her son. The Princess Mary, who alone from filial feelings had cause to hate Anne Boleyn, might be pardoned for this invidious partiality.

† This account is corroborated by Sanders, Heylin, and other writers, and the circumstance is pointedly alluded to in Anne's letter to

ticipate and to deplore the consequences of one impetuous moment. After Catherine's death, Henry had but to reconcile himself to the Church of Rome, and to rescind his late acts, to annul his marriage with Anne, and secure the privilege of elevating his favourite to the throne; but whilst his obstinacy refused concessions to the Pope, his avarice equally opposed the restitution which he should have had to offer to the English clergy; and pride forbade him to re-establish those ecclesiastical abuses for which he had loudly proclaimed hostility and contempt.

Under such circumstances, to repudiate Anne would be discreditable, and having resolved to criminate her conduct, he easily discovered an offence, for which, in his eyes, she deserved to die; that if she survived, she might interfere with the claims of his posterity by Jane Seymour.

At this period, Henry was himself in a precarious state of

the King.—"It was reported," says Wiatt, "that the Kinge came to her, and bewailinge and complaininge to her of the los of his boy, some words were heard breake out of the inward feelinge of her hart's dolours, lainge the falt upon unkindnes, which the Kinge more than was cause (her case at this time considered) toeke more hardly than otherwise he would, if he had not bin somewhat too much overcome with griefe, or not so much alienat. Wise men in those daise judged that her virtue was here her defalt, and that if her to much love could, as wel as the other Queene, have borne with his defect of love, she might have falen into les danger, and in the end have tied him the more ever after to her, when he had seene his errour, and that she might the rather have doone respectinge the general libertie and custome of feelinge then that way. Certainly from hensfourth the harme still more increased, and he was then heard to say to her, he would have no more boise by her."

health; a circumstance that, far from softening, inflamed the ferocity of his nature. His despotic will had long extended beyond the grave, and he desired, and even demanded, to legislate for posterity; adopting the convenient maxim, that the means were sanctified by the end, he again descended to the meanness formerly employed with Catherine, that of planting spies around his once beloved Queen, and thus stimulated or invited the malicious communications of Lady Rochford, who, without encouragement, could not have ventured to obtrude her real or pretended jealousies on his attention.

To destroy the envied Anne Boleyn, this abandoned woman scrupled not to accuse her husband of participation in a crime abhorrent to nature, and of which it argues depravity even to admit the belief. Henry perhaps considered as treasonable the frequent interviews of the brother and sister, which, whether they referred to Jane Seymour, or the progress of reformation, equally militated against his august supremacy. To secure the agency of Lady Rochford, though important, was not decisive; since her testimony might be rebutted by that of other ladies of unblemished fame, who, with better opportunities for observing their mistress, had not the same motives to traduce her conduct. The constraint imposed by custom on a Queen Consort, rendered it morally impossible* that she should wrong her lord, without the knowledge and connivance of subordinate agents. Entrammelled by ordonnances of state, all her movements were watched, and in a manner registered, by the satellites of her person, who intruded on the hours of privacy, and, without pre-

* This was so notorious, that, on the detection of Catherine Howard's guilt, Lady Rochford was convicted of treason, on the ground of having been accessary to the intrigue.

suming to oppose her will, continually encroached on her liberty. In reality, the Queen's conduct appears to have furnished no plausible grounds for attainting her reputation. That after her elevation she should have tempered dignity with affability, was rather for praise than censure. She delighted to diffuse cheerfulness, and still more to dispense beneficence. Within the last nine months, she had expended the sum of fifteen thousand pounds on charities and other public and useful institutions. The enthusiasm of party might have kindled her zeal for Protestantism; but it must have been the sympathies of a generous and amiable nature that prompted the munificence perpetually flowing in benefits to the people. During her long ante-nuptial probation, she must have learnt to dismiss coquetry from her attractions. The woman who had chosen Latimer and Shaxton (afterwards bishop of Sarum) to be her chaplains, who sought to effect a reformation in the manners of her court, and gloried in the reputation she had acquired by Lutheranism, such a woman was, of all others, the least likely to have risked her safety for the gallant attentions of the most accomplished courtier. As a proof of her prudence in this respect, it may be observed, that neither Wiatt, whom she really admired, nor the Earl of Northumberland, by whom she had been passionately beloved, were implicated in the suspicion; and for this obvious reason, that the general propriety of her conduct must have deprived such a charge of all colourable probability. The pretended paramours were only to be found in men to whom she was peculiarly accessible,—her personal attendants, or a justly-beloved brother. Among the most fatal of her indiscretions, was the intimacy which she cultivated with many individuals of her own sex, and the facility with which she yielded her unreserved confidence to

female flatterers, ever ready to ascribe the homage of the younger courtiers to tender or romantic sentiments.

Another circumstance prejudicial to her safety, was the precarious state of the King's health.

That a queen dowager should intermarry with a nobleman or private gentleman, was no unfrequent occurrence, as the King's two sisters had evinced by their example: it was, therefore, not unlikely that the more brilliant courtiers might speculate on such a probable contingency. For Henry, it was enough that such motives could be imputed to them by the idle gossips of the court; and on this slight and vague surmise, was built one of his most important accusations.

Amongst the acknowledged favourites of the royal household were two gentlemen of the bedchamber, Norris and Weston, who had long been admitted to the King's confidential intimacy, and who were of the select number at all hours admitted to his privy chamber. To these gentlemen, Anne originally, perhaps from deference to her lord's pleasure, had shown particular courtesy, and till the period of his estrangement he was pleased that she should so distinguish the objects of his preference. When Henry neglected his wife's society, these gentlemen had too much real delicacy of sentiment to withdraw the homage they had been accustomed to offer to their Queen; but their motives could not be appreciated in a court where honour was so little understood. It was whispered that Norris aspired to the future possession of his fair mistress, and some idle or malicious calumniators had the effrontery to maintain that he was already her favoured lover; nor was it only of her enemies that Anne received injuries. By the interference of judicious friends, she was apprised of the scandal industriously circulated against her;

and conceiving that such rumours must be injurious to the hopes she still entertained of regaining the King's affections, she determined to make an effort to induce Norris to confute the tale, by marrying a lady, to whom it was supposed he had been long engaged. Relying on his friendship and honour, she asked him why he did not proceed with his projected marriage: he confessed he had relinquished the engagement. Mortified at her disappointment, Anne abruptly announced the injury she sustained by the suspicions affixed to his conduct: he replied by disclaiming all selfish motives, with the indignant feelings of a man of honour. That, however, he was not alienated from her interests, appears by the promptitude with which, in obedience to her mandate, he went to her almoner to protest his firm and immutable faith in the Queen's virtue. Some part of this conversation had been overheard; and one of Anne's expressions, ("if ought but good should happen to the King, ye would think to have me,") was afterwards made, by a strained construction, to convict her of having imagined and conspired the King's death. In Weston she appears not to have reposed equal confidence: although a married man, he allowed himself, according to the manners of the day, to address, as a lover, a young lady (Mrs. Skelton), who happened to be one of the Queen's relations. Whether Anne was prompted by sympathy for the neglected wife, or whether she hoped to produce a reformation in her courtiers, she ventured to offer an expostulation which was little relished. Weston interrupted her admonitions with a declaration of gallantry, by which her pride, if not her delicacy, was offended, and they parted with mutual displeasure.

No situation could be more painful than that of the woman so lately the object of envy and adoration. During three months

she assiduously endeavoured to regain the King's affections, by cheerful submission and obsequious silence; but the perturbation of her feelings perpetually impelled her to require information of his movements. She learned with dismay that his clandestine meetings with Jane Seymour continued; and whether she were wooed as a mistress, or wife, from her knowledge of Henry's character, she discovered a mystery in his conduct that justified the most ominous forebodings: The agitation of her mind robbed her of repose; and even in her dreams she is said to have been haunted by images of calamity and death.* In the court of the despotic Henry, his suspected hostility was alone sufficient to raise against the unfortunate Anne a host of real foes. By the Catholics she was conscientiously detested, as the fatal cause of schism with the Romish church. The old politicians, recollecting the tragical fate of Edward the Fifth, deprecated the evils of a disputed succession; even the Protestants, to whom she was endeared as a friend and protectress, possessed too little power to brave the King's displeasure. Thus, political calculations conspired with personal interests to accelerate the fall of Anne Boleyn. Under any circumstances she would have been subjected to calumnious misrepresentations; but at no other moment would Henry have allowed them to be circulated with impunity. In the present instance, he eagerly availed himself of a frivolous slander to institute a private inquisition on the Queen's conduct, but with an inflexible resolution to pronounce her guilty.†

* See Fox

† If we may believe Meteren, the slander to which the King's suspicions were ostensibly attributed, originated in the flippant answer of a Frenchwoman to a reproving brother, "that the Queen allowed

That the King had preconcerted his plan, and already decided her fate, is evident by his having even in April convoked the parliament which was to exonerate him from the consequences of his now detested union, and abrogate the late act of succession in favour of his dearly-beloved Anne and her posterity. In thus prejudging her cause, he inadvertently furnished a strong presumption of her innocence.

On May-day, according to ancient usage, a tournament was held at Greenwich, at which Anne, for the last hour of triumph, attired with royal magnificence, was as usual the supreme object of attraction. Lord Rochford was the challenger, and Norris the defendant. The King had for some time looked on with complacency; when he suddenly quitted the balcony with a countenance of stern displeasure.* Alarmed by his deportment, Anne no longer attended to the mock-combat, but took the earliest opportunity to withdraw from the balcony. That

gentlemen at all hours to enter her chamber." On the strength of this report, Henry required Weston, Norris, and Brereton, to furnish proofs; but they denied the fact; nor was any other evidence obtained than that of Lady Rochford, to criminate the Queen. On one occasion only, it appeared that her brother, George Boleyn, had been seen to whisper in her ear before she had risen from her bed.

* It has been pretended by Sanders that Henry's jealousy was excited by seeing Norris wipe his face with a handkerchief the Queen had dropped from her balcony; but this circumstance is neither mentioned in our old chroniclers, nor alluded to by Wiatt, her more minute biographer. The information of Sanders alone is scarcely admissible; and Lord Herbert, in quoting him, evidently distrusts the authority; besides, Anne's fate was already decreed; writs had some days before been issued for the parliament which was to abrogate every preceding act passed in her favour.

night she passed in anxious suspense; nothing transpired till the morning, when Weston, Norris, and two other gentlemen, were arrested and committed to the Tower. That Henry really entertained suspicions of Weston and Norris, is to the last degree improbable, since he is said to have expressed repugnance to the commitment of the former gentleman; a sentiment of which, had he not known the charges to be false, his vindictive spirit was wholly incapable. Accustomed to modify his opinions by his passions, he might easily persuade himself that Weston and Norris were in possession of such circumstances as might substantially confirm the accusation; and he, therefore, eagerly offered them indemnity, on condition that they should become the Queen's accusers. Baffled in his purpose, he no longer hesitated what course to take, and they were doomed to perish the victims of his policy, or, it might be, of his pride and vengeance.

During some hours after their arrest Anne remained in ignorance of their common calamity; but when, at the accustomed hour, she sat down to dinner, she observed an unusual expression of seriousness in her ladies, neither of whom chose to be the harbinger of misfortune. Scarcely was the surnap removed ere the Duke of Norfolk, and other Lords of the council, with Sir Thomas Audley, entered her apartment. The duke approached not with his accustomed courtesy; Sir Thomas Audley followed with visible reluctance; but the sudden apparition of Kingston, the Governor of the Tower, at once revealed her fate; and shrieking with horror, she demanded the reason of their coming. She was briefly answered by her uncle,—"It is His Majesty's pleasure that you should depart to the Tower."—"If it be His Majesty's pleasure," replied Anne, regaining

her self-possession, "I am ready to obey;" and without waiting even to change her dress, she intrepidly committed herself to their custody. She was no sooner seated in the barge, than the Duke of Norfolk entered on the examination, by pretending that the guilty paramours had already substantiated the charges against her. She replied but by protestations of innocence; demanding with vehemence to be permitted to see the King, and to offer her personal vindication. To all her asseverations, the Duke of Norfolk replied but by shaking his head with an expression of incredulous contempt; the other peers were not more respectful. Sir Thomas Audley alone disdained the unmanly baseness, and by every delicate attention endeavoured to soften the anguish of a desolate woman. Never, perhaps, was there a situation more calculated to call forth pity than that of the deserted being who was yesterday a Queen, and to-day a culprit: three years had scarcely passed, since she left the same palace to be invested with the insignia of royalty,—to be hailed and idolized as the most fortunate of women. Two hundred boats had then followed in her train, to share the falcon's triumph. She was now conveyed to the Tower in a solitary barge, without friends or protectors. She approached not under the auspices of the mayor and his loyal companions; no discharge of artillery announced her presence; nor was she welcomed by the burst of sympathy, or the triumphant sound of popular acclamation. Of all the honours conferred at her coronation, nothing remained but the empty title of Queen, and an awful preeminence of misery.

Before she quitted the barge, she fell on her knees, solemnly invoking God to attest her innocence. Then once more besought the duke to persuade the King to listen to her vindication. To

this entreaty her unfeeling kinsman vouchsafed no answer, but left her to the care of Kingston,* the Governor of the Tower, with whose inauspicious name were associated terror and despair. With his assistance Anne once more ascended those stairs she had lately passed in triumph, when the King himself stood ready to receive her, with all the ardour of impassioned love. Kingston was now her only conductor, and of him, she inquired whither she was to be conveyed, and whether he meant to lodge her in a dungeon?—"No, Madam," he replied; "but to the same lodging that you had before, at your coronation." In an instant, Anne felt the gulf into which she was precipitated; and giving herself up for lost, passionately exclaimed, "It is too good for me;" as an unfortunate peer, under the influence of similar feelings, had, a few years before, declined the honours still offered to his rank, which, he said, belonged not to the wretched caitiff who had ceased to be Buckingham. In like manner, Anne shed a torrent of tears, too plainly perceiving that she had ceased to be the idolized Queen of Henry the Eighth;

* The following anecdote sufficiently illustrates Kingston's character.—"One Bowyer, mayor of Bodmin, in Cornwall, had been amongst the rebels, not willingly, but enforced: to him the Provost Kingston sent word he would come and dine with him, for whom the mayor made great provision. A little before dinner, the Provost took the mayor aside, and whispered in the ear, that an execution must that day be done in the town, and therefore he must set up two gallows: the mayor did so. After dinner Sir William Kingston thanked him for his entertainment, and then desired him to bring him to the gallows. He then asked whether they were strong enough? 'I warrant thee,' said the mayor. 'Then,' rejoined Sir William, 'get you upon them.'—'I!' said the mayor; 'you mean not as you speak.'—'Nay, sir, you mus' die, for you have been a busy rebel.'"

and was now but the poor persecuted Anne Boleyn. At length recovering from this extreme dejection, she inquired of Kingston, when he had seen her father? then eagerly exclaimed, "Oh! where is my sweet brother?" Not willing to confess that he was already committed to the same prison, Kingston evaded this question. And Anne, collecting her spirits, resumed,—"Mr. Kingston, I hear I shall be accused by three men; yet, though they should open my body (and she emphatically opened her robe), I could but say nay, nay." Then, mentally reverting to her late conversation with Norris, she cried, "And hast thou, too, Norris, accused me? and we shall die together!" At this moment, the recollection of the proud Countess of Wiltshire rushed to her mind, and she loudly exclaimed, "Oh! my mother, thou wilt die with sorrow." She then deplored the illness of Lady Worcester, whom she had left at the palace overwhelmed with grief, pathetically adding, "*It is all for the cause of me!*" Her next question to Kingston was, whether she should have justice? "Yes, Madam, the poorest subject has justice." To this assurance she replied but by a convulsive laugh; impressed perhaps with the conviction that she was in reality more unfriended than the poorest subject. When she again spoke, it was to entreat that she might receive the sacrament in a closet adjoining her chamber. The storm of conflicting passions now subsided; and, having anchored her hopes on another world, she appeared comparatively serene and cheerful. It should be remembered as an important fact, that even when impressed with the belief that Weston and Norris had really conspired against her, she persisted in asserting her innocence. The day after her commitment, she pressed Kingston to convey for her a letter to Cromwel; but, although he excused himself from performing

this office, he readily offered to repeat to the secretary whatever the Queen should be pleased to communicate. Anne thanked him for the civility, but declined accepting it. She had soon occasion to detect the ungenerous spirit of Henry, in the ladies selected to be her companions in prison, of whom she once remarked, with her wonted frankness, that she thought it very unkind of the King to plant around her those she so little loved. For this procedure there was, however, an obvious reason; since it was hoped, by their agency, to draw from her some acknowledgment which might hereafter be wrested to her prejudice. Anne, as might naturally be expected, fell into the snare, by repeating the conversations she had lately held with Norris and Weston. She detailed in what manner she had besought the former to vindicate her fame, and by what means she had incurred the displeasure of the latter. Of Mark Smeton,* the musician, she appeared to know nothing; and protested that he had never but once been admitted within her apartments, when he had been summoned to play on the virginals. During some of these explanations, her aunt, Lady Edward Boleyn, observed, with more truth than tenderness, "Had you never listened to such tale-bearers, you had never been in this situation." There were moments when Anne seemed to feel it impossible that the King should really single out for destruction the wife he had so lately loved; and she once said, with a smile, she thought he did it but to prove her. At her second examination before the Duke of Norfolk, she received new indignities, of which she loudly complained, protesting, that by Cromwel alone she had been treated with decency: even by

* Of this miscreant nothing has been recorded, but that he was low-born, and a musician. There can be little doubt that he was suborned by Anne's enemies to promote her ruin.

him, though evidently convinced of her innocence, she was unwillingly abandoned to the King's vengeance. Cranmer alone made a feeble and abortive effort in her favour. At length Henry sent a message, enforced by a visit from Lady Rochford, requiring her, by prompt and ample confession, to atone for her criminal conduct. By this last cruel and deliberate insult, her eyes were opened to her true situation: and no longer doubting of her fate, she appears not to have even cherished a wish to preserve her existence. This sentiment she expressed with much dignity in her last message to the King, when, after having thanked him for his signal bounties, she added, "From a private gentlewoman he raised me to a marchioness, from a marchioness to a queen; and now, that he can no farther advance me in this world, he is about to make me a saint in Heaven." It was after this severe trial, that Anne wrote or dictated the following letter, addressed to the King, but which was destined never to meet his eye.*

* The authenticity of this letter, afterwards found among Cromwel's papers, has been repeatedly called in question; but, whether it were written by Anne Boleyn, or an abler pen, it seems undeniable that it was composed under her direction, and that it contains a genuine transcript of her sentiments and feelings. The allusions to her peculiar situation are such as could scarcely have been introduced by any indifferent person. During her imprisonment Anne was visited by the sister of Wiatt, her beloved Mrs. Margaret Lee. It is not improbable that the outline of this letter received its polish from Wiatt's elegant pen; and it is worthy of remark, that although he was not suspected of being her paramour, he was, after her death, committed to the Tower for having been her friend. Loyd says, "he got into trouble about the affair of Queen Anne; her favour raised him, and her friendship nearly ruined him." In Wiatt's Life of Queen Anne Boleyn, allusion is made

Queen Anne Boleyn's last letter to King Henry.

"SIR,

"Your Grace's displeasure, and my imprisonment, are things so strange unto me, as what to write, or what to excuse, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you send unto me (willing me to confess a truth, and so obtain your favour), by such an one whom you know to be my ancient professed enemy;* I no sooner received this message by him, than I rightly conceived your meaning; and if, as you say, confessing a truth indeed may procure my safety, I shall with all willingness and duty perform your command. But let not Your Grace ever imagine that your poor wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a fault, where not so much as a thought thereof preceded. And, to speak a truth, never prince had wife more loyal in all duty, and in all true affection, than you have ever found in Anne Boleyn; with which name and place I could willingly have contented myself, if God and your Grace's pleasure had been so pleased. Neither did I at any time so far forget myself in my exaltation, or received queenship, but that I always looked for such an alteration as now I find; for the ground of my preferment being

to this circumstance; but his disgrace was temporary. Henry knew his worth, and with him had no motive to be vindictive. Of those who insist that the letter was not written by Anne Boleyn, it is fair to inquire, by whom, and for what purpose, it could have been fabricated? Surely, not by Cromwel. With regard to Wiatt, it is worthy of remark, that two years after Anne's death, he was charged by Bonner with having said that "Henry deserved to be thrown into the sea." Wiatt repelled the accusation; but it was probably grounded on the indignation he had really expressed at the sacrifice of Anne Boleyn.

* Probably the Duke of Norfolk.

on no surer foundation than Your Grace's fancy, the least alteration, I knew, was fit and sufficient to draw that fancy to some other subject. You have chosen me, from a low estate, to be your Queen and companion, far beyond my desert or desire. If then you found me worthy of such honour, good Your Grace let not any light fancy, or bad counsel of mine enemies, withdraw your princely favour from me; neither let that stain, that unworthy stain of a disloyal heart towards your good Grace, ever cast so foul a blot on your most dutiful wife, and the infant princess your daughter: try me, good King, but let me have a lawful trial, and let not my sworn enemies sit as my accusers and judges; yea, let me receive an open trial, for my truth shall fear no open shame; then shall you see either my innocency cleared, your suspicion and conscience satisfied, the ignominy and slander of the world stopped, or my guilt openly declared. So that, whatsoever God or you may determine of me, Your Grace may be freed from an open censure; and mine offence being so lawfully proved, Your Grace is at liberty, both before God and man, not only to execute worthy punishment on me as an unlawful wife, but to follow your affection already settled on that party for whose sake I am now as I am, whose name I could some good while since have pointed unto: Your Grace being not ignorant of my suspicion therein.* But if you have already determined of me, and that not only my death, but an infamous slander must bring you the enjoying of your desired happiness; then I desire of God, that he will pardon your great sin therein, and likewise mine enemies, the instruments thereof; and that he will not call you to a strict account for your unprincely and cruel usage of me, at his general judgment-seat, where both you and

* This passage confirms the account given in Wiatt.

myself must shortly appear, and in whose judgment, I doubt not (whatsoever the world may think of me), mine innocence shall be openly known, and sufficiently cleared. My last and only request shall be, that myself may only bear the burthen of Your Grace's displeasure, and that it may not touch the innocent souls of those poor gentlemen, who (as I understand) are likewise in strait imprisonment for my sake. If ever I have found favour in your sight; if ever the name of Anne Boleyn hath been pleasing in your ears, then let me obtain this request; and I will so leave to trouble Your Grace any farther, with mine earnest prayers to the Trinity to have Your Grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your actions. From my doleful prison in the Tower, this sixth of May.

"Your most loyal and
ever faithful wife,
"ANNE BOLEYN."

On her first commitment to the Tower, Anne betrayed strong alternations of feeling: sometimes fancied she should regain the King's heart, and that he merely tried her faith; sometimes, with passionate vehemence, desired that her Bishops should intercede in her favour: and there were moments when she even seemed to expect that Heaven, by a supernatural interposition, should avouch her innocence. After her second examination, these transports subsided, and, on receiving the King's last message, every earthly hope, almost every earthly feeling, seemed extinguished: and, by the effort of despair, she rose above the frailties, almost beyond the sufferings, of humanity. It is not known who were her legal advisers; but she was allowed no advocate, and debarred from all intercourse with her parents. At this privation, however, she appears not to have repined,

either because she dared not expose her firmness to the trial of meeting an afflicted mother, and, perhaps, self-accusing father, or because she dreaded lest they should be involved in her fate. For some days preceding her trial, she preserved cheerfulness and composure; with much animation persisting in her innocence. In the meantime unremitted efforts were made by the King's agents to extort further evidence; and it is even upon record, that the solitary confession of Smeton was not deemed sufficient to *clear the King's honour;** but it was in vain that bribes or menaces were employed for the subornation of Anne's women: even those by whom she was least loved had nothing to allege against her; the perjuries of Lady Rochford had furnished no substantial evidence; and all that malice and treachery could effect, was but to elicit something of a treasonable construction from the Queen's conversation with Norris, in which she had spoken of the King's probable dissolution. The fate of the other culprits had been already decided at Westminster.†

At length, on the memorable 15th of May, a judicial court was erected in the King's Hall,‡ within the Tower, for the trial of the Queen and her brother. At this tribunal presided the Duke of Norfolk; on his right hand sat the Lord Chancellor,

* Sir William Baynton writes to Sir William Fitzwilliams:—"This shall be to advertise you, that here is much communication, that no man will confess any thing, but only Mark of any actual thing: wherefore, in my foolish conceit, it should much touch the King's honour, if it should no further appear." Burnet.

† Norris, Weston, Brereton, and Smeton. Of the two last nothing is known, but that they were tried and condemned. Against Norris, Weston, and Brereton, no other evidence was produced than the perjury of Smeton.

‡ This apartment was still in existence till the year 1778.

the Duke of Suffolk on his left; before him the Earl of Surrey, as Earl-marshal of England: to these were joined the Duke of Richmond and twenty-four other peers, among whom was the Earl of Northumberland, the juvenile lover of Anne Boleyn.* At the appointed hour came the Queen, divested of royal state, neatly and plainly attired; with no other attendants than Lady Kingston and Lady Edward Boleyn. Being placed in a chair, she bowed respectfully to the assembly, who were irresistibly won by her modest countenance and dignified deportment. Among the strangers admitted to this court were the Lord Mayor, certain distinguished citizens (doubtless those devoted to the King's pleasure), and some few gentry.

For the first time in the annals of English history, a queen was dragged before a criminal tribunal. Even Henry the Eighth might, perhaps, have scrupled so to degrade a lady of royal birth or princely connections; but he was conscious that Anne had neither friends nor protectors, and was wholly left to his mercy or his vengeance. The indictment being read, the Queen held up her hand, and pleaded not guilty. The charge was then opened, and accusations too monstrous to be detailed, and too contradictory to be credited, were unblushingly rehearsed before the astonished audience. In the first instance, something was attempted to be proved from the pretended confession of a certain Lady Wingfield, who had, it was alleged, on her death-bed disclosed disgraceful circumstances of the Queen's life; but this posthumous forgery, evidently intended to introduce the other ac-

* It should be remarked, that this number included but half the peerage of England; an additional proof, if any were wanting, that the jury was composed of such as should not venture to thwart the King's pleasure.

cusation, was unsupported by the least evidence. To disguise the weakness of the cause, an elaborate charge was exhibited against her; but the five confederates in guilt annihilate the belief that even one paramour existed; and it is obvious that three of those five gentlemen were committed, not so much to establish the queen's guilt, as to preclude them from vindicating her innocence. To the revolting calumnies proclaimed against her, Anne listened with diguity; and, without losing self-possession, calmly replied to each specific charge. Of the witnesses produced, the depositions were vague and nugatory. The prisoner looked in vain for Smeton, against whose perjuries it was not deemed expedient to oppose her appeals to justice. At length the prosecution closed, and Anne, unassisted by either counsel or advocate, undertook her own defence in an eloquent and able speech, which, as appears by an authentic document,* excited a general expectation of acquittal; but a different impression was created in the bosom of the prisoner, who beheld among her judges, not merely her enemies, but the slaves of a tyrant's will. With the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk were associated the young Duke of Richmond (who had been taught to prejudge the cause), and the Chancellor Audley, who was

* "Having an excellent quick wit, and being a ready speaker, she did so answer to all objections, that had the peers given in their verdict according to the expectations of the assembly, she should have been acquitted; but they, among whom the Duke of Suffolk, the King's brother-in-law, was chief and wholly applying himself to the King's humour, pronounced her guilty: whereupon the Duke of Norfolk was bound to proceed according to the verdict of the Peers, and condemned her to death, either by being burnt on the Tower Green, or beheaded, as His Majesty in his pleasure should think fit."—MS. Account in the Harleian Miscellany.

required to make law consistent with injustice. Among these lords she distinguished her well-wisher Cromwel, and Henry Earl of Nothumberland. The latter sat with ill-disguised agitation, and at length, on the plea of indisposition, abruptly quitted the apartment before the peers had pronounced the fatal verdict.

In hearing her sentence, and that she should be burnt or beheaded, Anne preserved an undismayed countenance; and, according to the testimony of an eye-witness, lifting up her hands, emphatically exclaimed, "O Father! O Creator! Thou art the way, and the truth, and the life: Thou knowest that I have not deserved this death." Then turning herself to her judges, and looking at her uncle, the Duke of Norfolk, the Lord High Steward, she said, "My Lord, I will not say that your sentence is unjust, nor presume that my appeal ought to be preferred to the judgment of you all. I believe you have reason and occasion of suspicion and jealousy, upon which you have condemned me; but they must be other than those produced here in court; for I am entirely innocent of all these accusations, so that I cannot ask pardon of God for them. I have been always a faithful and loyal wife to the King; I have not, perhaps, at all times shown him that humility and reverence that his goodness to me, and the honour to which he raised me, did deserve. I confess I have had fancies and suspicions of him, which I had not strength nor discretion to resist; but God knows, and is my witness, that I never failed otherwise towards him, and I shall never confess any otherwise."*

* This is an extract from a letter written by a French gentleman, residing at that time in London, which is inserted in Meteren's Historia Belgica, and appears entitled to at least as much credit as any other historical document of the transaction. It should be observed, that

It is not clear on what grounds Anne Boleyn was convicted.* It is certain that the evidence to support the charge of adultery failed,† and that it was rather treason which was pretended to be proved against her. The lawyers of that age were practised in casuistry for entrapping innocence and perverting justice. Wiatt conjectures that Anne was in reality condemned on the authority of some old law, or by a dexterous misapplication of the statute‡

this account agrees in every important circumstance with the brief detail preserved among the Harleian MSS., and published in Hargrave's State Trials. Both ascribe to Anne perfect self-possession and persuasive eloquence, and both agree in representing her as persisting in her innocence.

* The indictment charged her with having conspired against the King's life. In the case of Queen Catharine Howard, the fact of adultery was simply stated; but much circumlocution was employed to array in terror the vague and contradictory charges against Anne Boleyn. It is not pretended that either of her paramours was beloved, but that she ambitiously desired, by their means, to rule in the realm after the King's death, whose life was therefore presumed to be in danger; and in effect, as has been remarked by Dr. Lingard, he received a parliamentary congratulation for his escape from the supposed conspiracy. Although the original records of the trial have been destroyed, sufficient evidence remains to warrant the conclusion, that Anne was accused by perjury, and convicted by tyranny. See Statutes of the Realm.

† Of contemporary chroniclers, Polydore Virgil alone pretends that she was detected in her guilt; an assertion manifestly refuted by the positive evidence of Kingston and Cromwel, without referring to historical documents.

‡ "And I may say, by their leaves, it seems themselves they doubted their proofes would prove their reproofes, when they durst not bringe them to the proofe of the light in open place. For this principal matter

lately passed to insure her personal protection; namely, that by which it was declared treason to slander the king's issue by Anne

betweene the Queene and her brother, ther was brought forth indeede witnes, his wicked wife, accuser of her owne husband, even to the seeking of his blood, which I believe is hardly to be shewed of any honest woman, ever done; but of her, the judgment that fel out upon her, and the just punishment by law after, of her haughtiness, shew that what she did was more to be rid of him, then of true ground against him; and that it seemeth those noble men, that went upon the Queen's life, found in her trial, when it may appear plainly by that defence of the knight, that oft hath been here mentioned, that the young noble man, the Lord Rochford, by the common opinion of men of best understanding, in thos days, was counted and then openly spoken, condemned only upon some point of a statute of words, then in force. And this and sondrie other reasons have made me think often, that upon some clause of the same law, they grounded their colour also against her, and that for other matters she had cleared herself wel enough. It seemeth some greate ones, then had in their hands in drawinge in that law to entangle, or bridle one another, and that some of them were taken in the same net, as good men then thought worthely. Surely my Lord Cromwel and that younge lorde were taken in those entanglements, and the knight himself of whome is spoken, had hardly scapt it, as may apeere by his defence, if he had not by the well delivering of the goodnes of his cause, broken through it. And this may wel serve to admonish men, to be wel aware how far they admit law, that shall touch life, upon *construction of words*, or at the lest, admittinge them, how far they leave to lawyers to interpret of them, and especially that thereby they give not excuse to juries to condemn the innocent, when sway of times should thrust matters upon them. Thus was she put upon her trial by men of great honor; it had bin good also if some of them had not bin to be suspected of *too much power*, and *no less malice*. The evidence was heard indeed; but close enough, as inclosed in strong walls; yet to shew the truth cannot by any force

Boleyn. However this might be, Henry's passions carried him still farther; it was not enough that he should destroy his wife, he must even illegitimate her offspring, lest Jane Seymour also should bring into the world a daughter, to be supplanted by her elder sister Elizabeth. To secure himself from this contingency, he caused his marriage with Anne to be annulled, on the plea of her pre-contract with the Earl of Northumberland, in spite of that nobleman's protestations to the contrary. Whether Anne acknowledged the contract is questionable;* although she appears to have admitted that certain impediments had existed to her marriage: but this extorted concession should rather be attributed to a generous solicitude for her family, than to any terrors inspired by the punishment with which she was menaced, a weakness never imputed to her by contemporary writers. Much speculation has been expended on Henry's motives for this supplemental vengeance; but was it not consistent with his character, that he should secure the crown to the posterity of his intended queen? Is it not also likely that the Duke of Norfolk, who constantly desired the reunion of England with the church

be altogether kept in holde, some belike of those honorable personages then, more perhaps for countenance of others' evil than for means by their own authority to doo good, which also peradventure would not have bin, without their own certain perils, did not yet forbear to deliver out voices, that caused every where to be muttered abroad, that that spotless Queene in her defence had cleered herself with a most wise and noble speech.

"Notwithstanding such a trial, such a judgment found her guiltie, and gave sentence of death upon her at home, whom others abrode, living to feel her los, found guiltles."—Wiatt's Life of the renowned Queen Ann Bolen.

* See Lingard's History of Henry the Eighth.

of Rome, should suggest an expedient which apparently removed the great and only insuperable impediment to mutual reconciliation?

After her condemnation, no dejection was visible in Anne's deportment.* Much of her time was spent in devotion; yet she often conversed with her wonted grace and animation; she quoted her favourite passages of poetry, and more than once recited lines from Wiatt's verses. The contemplation of her approaching dissolution no longer inspired terror; from the moment that her days were numbered, she appeared to dismiss all sublunary cares, to forget all personal sorrows; even on the 17th of May, when her brother and his unfortunate companions were executed,† she betrayed no violent emotion; and Kingston was surprised into the confession, that he had never before seen man or woman, who, like *this lady, rejoiced in the prospect of death.* On one occasion only was this happy composure suspended. By a refinement of cruelty, neither her father nor her mother had been permitted to approach her prison; and it is even possible she was far from wishing to bid them an eternal farewell; but she must have passionately desired to behold once more her child, in whose smiling countenance she might yet read some fair presage of futurity. Sensible that this rejected daughter would be left dependent on the capricious kindness of a stepmother, she recollected with grief and compunction the occasional harshness with which she had herself treated the Princess Mary; and, hoping perhaps to avert from her own Elizabeth the experience of those hardships she now believed she had inflicted

* See the five letters from Kingston to Cromwel, published in Strype.

† Lord Rochford and his fellow-sufferers were executed on that day, on a scaffold without the Tower.

on her elder sister, she prostrated herself at Lady Kingston's feet, compelled her to assume the chair of state, which still remained in her chamber, and to listen to an unreserved confession of whatever trespasses her conscience acknowledged towards that princess; nor would she rise from that humble posture till she had obtained from Lady Kingston a solemn promise, that she would in like manner prostrate herself before Mary, and never desist from supplication till she should have drawn from her lips a declaration of forgiveness. In this last conflict, when all the native sensibility of Anne Boleyn's character burst forth, it is scarcely possible to conceive that she would have incurred the guilt of perjury, by persisting in unauthorized asseverations of innocence. After an affecting scene with Lady Kingston, she continued to commune with her almoner till midnight. In the morning she arose with a serene aspect; and, on seeing Kingston, expressed regret that her execution was deferred till noon, adding, "I had hoped by this time the pain would be over." Kingston replied, "It would be no pain,—the headsman's stroke was so subtle." "True," returned she, "and I hear he has an excellent sword, and I have a little neck;" and, putting her hand to her throat, she laughed heartily; as if she wished to show that she equally despised fear, and disdained pity. But this occasional pleasantry did not suspend her serious reflections; and she entreated Kingston to be present when she received the sacrament, that he might hereafter attest her protestations of innocence. Nor did her resolution falter when the fatal moment drew nigh, and when she for ever quitted that chamber in which she had been alternately lodged as a brilliant bride and a desolate prisoner.* By a prudent precaution, stran-

* Anne Boleyn is traditionally believed to have been confined in a

gers had been dismissed from the Tower, and not more than thirty persons were admitted to witness the catastrophe. By one of those few spectators, we are assured, that the queen approached the platform* with perfect composure; that her countenance was cheerful, and retained all its wonted pre-eminence of beauty. As she advanced to the spot, she had to detach herself from her weeping attendants, whom she vainly attempted to reconcile to her destiny. Among these, the most cherished was Wiatt's sister, with whom Anne continued in earnest conversation till the parting moment, and then presented to her, with a benignant smile, a small manuscript prayer-book, which the afflicted friend was ever after accustomed to lodge in her bosom, as a sacred relic of imperishable attachment.† To each of her other companions she made a similar bequest, beseeching them not to grieve, because she was thus doomed to die, but rather to pardon her for not having always treated them with becoming mildness: then, ascending the scaffold, she addressed a few words to the spectators, of which the following is said to have been the purport:—"Friends, and good Christian people, I am here in your presence to suffer death, whereto I acknowledge myself

room in Beauchamp's tower; but it appears by Kingston's letters that she was in the Lieutenant's lodgings, where she was attended by his wife, and other individuals of her own sex.—See Bailey's History of the Antiquities of the Tower.

* The platform was erected on the Tower Green, now designated the Parade, and must have been nearly opposite to the Lieutenant's lodgings.

† It is pleasing to revert to the faithful attachment long preserved by the Wiatts for the memory of Anne Boleyn. The little biographical tract so often referred to was compiled from traditional records by a member of that family.

adjudged by law, how justly I will not say: I intend not an accusation of any one. I beseech the Almighty to preserve his Majesty long to reign over you: a more gentle or mild prince never swayed sceptre.* His bounty towards me hath been special. If any one intend an inquisitive survey of my actions, I entreat them to judge favourably of me, and not rashly to admit any censorious conceit; and so I bid the world farewell, beseeching you to commend me in your prayers to God." This speech she uttered with a smiling countenance: then, uncovering her neck, she knelt down, and fervently ejaculated, "To Jesus Christ I commend my soul!" But though her head was meekly submitted to the axe, the intrepidity with which she refused the bandage,† delayed the accomplishment of her sentence; the touching expression of her eyes disarmed, for the moment, her executioner, and it was at length by stratagem that he seized the moment for giving the stroke of death. At this crisis, an exclamation of anguish burst from the spectators, which was quickly overpowered by the discharge of artillery announcing the event, the last royal honour offered to the memory of Anne Boleyn. What report was made of her execution to Henry is unknown: but he was perhaps somewhat appeased by the gentle, submissive demeanor displayed in this awful scene; and, as from her knowledge of his character she had probably anticipated, soon restored to her daughter a large portion of his paternal favour.

* An acknowledgment of the King's goodness appears to have been the form generally used by culprits at the place of execution. The Duke of Buckingham also spoke of the King's clemency. It is, however, proper to remark, that many discrepancies appear in contemporary chronicles, and that it is probable no faithful transcript of Anne's speech was ever published.

† See note at the end of the volume.

It was not without reason that Anne committed the vindication of her fame to time and truth. The citizens believed her destroyed by the intrigues of the court. The nobility, when they beheld Jane Seymour, on the next Whit-Sunday, invested with royal pageantry, could not but feel she had been sacrificed to the King's passions. The Catholics discerned in this tragedy the judgment of Heaven; the Protestants detected the machinations of the Pope and the Emperor. Perhaps the remote source of her misfortunes might be traced to superstition operating on the arbitrary spirit of Henry the Eighth, alarmed by the prediction that the Tudors should not retain the sceptre of England, and yet inflexibly bent on transmitting the crown to his immediate posterity. To whatever cause might be ascribed the calamitous fate of Anne Boleyn, that it was unmerited appears to have been generally allowed by all but the bigots whom she had offended, or the mercenary courtiers who basked in the sunshine of royal favour. But these convictions were stifled by slavish devotion to kingly power, till the subsequent exposure of Lady Rochford's infamy extorted a tardy acknowledgment of the injustice to which the most beneficent of queens had been sacrificed. As the principles of the Reformation gained ground, the people became more sensible of their obligations to the woman who had ever warmly supported the cause of humanity and truth; and, although her remains were left to neglect, her charities could not be consigned to oblivion: her munificence was her monument; her expanded sympathies, her open-handed bounty, her enlightened beneficence, all conspired to fix on Henry's ferocious despotism an indelible stain of infamy; and the enthusiasm which accompanied Elizabeth to the throne was, in part at least, a tribute of gratitude and tenderness to the ill-fated Anne Boleyn.

SUPPLEMENTAL REMARKS

ON THE

BOLEYNS.

To the Boleyns, no motto could have been so appropriate as that assumed by the House of Courtenoy, *ubi lapsus—quid feci?* Their rise had been slow and gradual; their fall was rapid and irretrievable, and after the death of Anne they never recovered dignity and importance.

The Earl of Wiltshire survived his ill-fated children but two years, and died, in 1538, at Hever, in whose parochial church his tomb is still pointed out to the curious visiter. For the countess, contrary to her daughter's predictions, was reserved a longer term of existence; and, eventually, she lived to witness the death or disgrace of the majority of those peers who sat in judgment on her daughter. The Earl of Northumberland had soon followed the object of his juvenile affection to the grave, overwhelmed with shame and sorrow for the execution of his brother, Sir Thomas Percy, who had been involved in Aske's rebellion. Cromwel and Surrey perished on the scaffold; and the Duke of Norfolk was immured in the Tower, ere the remains of Anne's mother were consigned to the tomb of her ancestors, in the chapel at Lambeth, with this brief monumental inscription:

"Elizabeth Howard, some time Countess of Wiltshire."

Mary Boleyn, her younger daughter, died in 1546, at Rochford Hall, Essex, leaving two children: a daughter, afterwards married to Sir Francis Knollys, and a son, Henry Carey, created Baron of Hunsdon by Queen Elizabeth, in whose brilliant circle he was distinguished as the honest courtier. "The politicans," says Loyd, "followed Cecil; the courtiers, Leicester; and the soldiers, Hunsdon." The same author relates of him the following anecdote:—"When his retinue, which, in those times, was large, would have drawn on a gentleman that had re-

turned him a box on the ear, he forbade them in these soldier-like words: 'You rogues! cannot my neighbour and myself exchange a box on the ear, but you must interfere?'" It was expected that he should be created Earl of Ormond or Wiltshire; and his approved loyalty and valour might have challenged from Elizabeth a higher recompense than the restoration of those dignities. On his deathbed, when the letters-patent for the earldom were offered to his acceptance, he exclaimed, with his wonted frankness, "If I was unworthy of these honours when living, I am unworthy of them now I am dying!"*

The sons of this gallant nobleman enjoyed favour and consideration with James the First, and some of his female descendants married into noble families; but the fortunes of their house declined, and the collateral branches of the Boleyns, in Kent and Norfolk, sunk into quiet obscurity.†

It was impossible that the name of Anne Boleyn, or the memory of her misfortunes, should be consigned to oblivion. Traditions of her sufferings and her virtues were still generally and willingly received, and various metrical tales or ballads, founded on her tragical story, sufficiently evince that she continued to be an object of popular sympathy.

In the number of those poems which have been delicated to her memory, the most remarkable is the following dirge, written in the reign of Henry the Eighth, which has been attributed to her own pen, but may, with more probability, be traced to Wiatt, or his accomplished sister, Margaret Lee:—

* The fourth lineal descendant of this gallant peer was created Viscount Rochford, and Earl of Dover. In 1677, the earldom and viscounty being extinct, Sir Robert Carey became sixth Lord Hunsdon. In 1765, William Ferdinand Carey, the eighth Lord Hunsdon, dying without issue, the title again became extinct. The following inscription to the memory of a female descendant of Lord Hunsdon confirms the fact that Mary Boleyn was the younger sister of the unfortunate Anne Boleyn:—

"Here lieth the body of the most virtuous and prudent Lady Elizabeth, Lady Berkeley, widow, daughter, and sole heir of George Carey, Lord Hunsdon, son and heir of Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon, son and heir of William Carey and the Lady Mary his wife† second daughter and co-heir of Thomas Bullen, Earl of Ormond and Wiltshire, father also of Queen Anne Bullen, wife to King Henry the Eighth, mother of Queen Elizabeth, late Queen of England; which Lady Berkeley, after her pious pilgrimage of 59 years, surrendered her soul into the hands of her Redeemer, the 23d day of April, 1635."—Collier's Peerage, edited by Sir Egerton Brydges.

† In Lamboard's Perambulations in Kent, published towards the middle of the seventeenth century, no mention is made of the Boleyns, so long the lords of Hever Castle.

Doleful Complaint of Anne Boleyn.*

Defi.ed is my name full sore,
Through cruel spite and false report,
That I may say for evermore,
Farewell my joy—adieu comfort:
For wrongfully ye judge of me,
Unto my fame a mortal wound;
Say what ye list, it will not be,
Ye seek for that cannot be found.
Oh, death! rock me on sleep,
Bring me on quiet rest;
Let pass my very guiltless ghost
Out of my careful breast.
Toll on the passing bell,
Ring out the doleful knell,
Let the sound of my death tell;
For I must die,
There is no remedy,
For now I die.

My pains, who can express?
Alas! they are so strong,
My dolour will not suffer strength
My life for to prolong.
Toll out the passing bell;
Alone in prison strong,
I wail my destiny.
Worth, worth this cruel hap, that I
Should taste this misery!

Toll out the passing bell,
Ring out the doleful knell,
Let the sound of my death tell;
For I must die,
There is no remedy,
And now I die.

Farewell, my pleasures past;
Welcome, my present pain:
I feel my torments so increase,
That life cannot remain.
Cease now the passing bell;
Rung is my doleful knell;
For the sound my death doth tell,
Death! draw nigh.

In another poem composed in the middle of the seventeenth century, is contained a traditional history of Anne Boleyn, which represents her as having sacrificed to her ambition an early and sincere attachment.

* This poem, first published in Hawkins's History of Music is confessedly of the age of Anne Boleyn.

They did her conduct to a tower of stone,
Whereas she should wail and lament her alone,
And condemned be, for help there was none;
Lo, such was her fortune!

She said, I came in once at this portail
Like a queen to receive a crown imperial;
Now I come to receive a crown immortal,
Lo, such is my fortune.

For mine offences I am full of woe:
Oh! would I had hurt myself, and no mo,
I had been well an I done so;
But such is my fortune.

All they that followed my line,
And to my favour did incline,
Well may they weep and band the time
That I found such fortune.

I had a lover stedfast and true;
Alas! that ever I changed for new.
I could not remember full sore anew
To have now this fortune.

But though I have my time mispent,
Yet give me not no misjudgment,
If God be pleased, be you content,
Beholding my fortune.*

The lover alluded to was, probably, Henry Percy; but, in reality, Anne merited not the reproach of inconstancy; having been compelled to relinquish that engagement: and there is no reason to believe she ever formed another. Among the historians and chroniclers of the day, her character and conduct are uniformly praised or censured according to the religious or political tenets of the respective writers. It is, however, worthy of remark, that all contemporary English chroniclers have either openly asserted or tacitly acknowledged her innocence; and the value of their testimony is not a little enhanced by the reflection that the major part of them could have had no personal motives to bias their partiality or warp their judgment. Cavendish composed his MS. in the reign of Mary. Hall published under the auspices of Edward the Sixth and the Seymours. Speed wrote under another dynasty, to whom the vindication of Anne Boleyn's fame must have been perfectly indifferent. Among the earlier historians, the Bishop of St. Alban's and Lord Herbert are decidedly in her favour.

* The whole of this poem will be found in Dr. Nott's Life of Sir Thomas Wiatt.

The life of Queen Anne Boleyn, by Wiatt, though confessedly panegyrical, derives considerable importance from the light which it throws on several traditional passages of Fox, Heylin, and Sanders; and from the elucidation it occasionally affords of certain strange and otherwise inexplicable calumnies. In his Statesmen and Favourites of England, Loyd incidentally repels the accusations of certain Catholic writers; and as he enjoyed peculiar opportunities of obtaining information respecting the age of Henry the Eighth, his authority is unquestionably entitled to respect.*

It is not surprising that the ostensible heroine of Protestantism should have been grossly misrepresented by Spanish and Italian writers, the inveterate foes of heresy, and the bigoted defenders of the orthodox faith. But it has been observed, that even the more temperate French historians have equally impeached the honour and nuptial fidelity of Anne Boleyn; and that it appears uncandid to fix on them, generally and nationally, the stigma of deliberate and systematic injustice. In answer to this objection, we have only to remark, that the French, in common with those Spanish and Italian writers in whose prejudices they participated, have either substituted conjectures for facts, or derived their information from suspicious authorities, in direct opposition to more credible relations, and even to positive evidence. By some, the guilt of Anne Boleyn is assumed, on the pretext, that she was educated in the corrupt court of France, forgetting that this corruption of manners became not general till after the period of her childhood; and that on such questions hypothetical deductions cannot be admitted as historical truths. By others, her infamy is triumphantly proclaimed, on the evidence of Sanders, Marot, or Polydore Virgil, whose malicious or venal fabrications have been repeatedly controverted and refuted. It is a curious fact, that the misfortunes of Mary Stuart have perpetuated the wrongs of Anne Boleyn: the first champions of that ill-fated queen avenged her cause, by traducing the mother of her triumphant rival, and, from similar motives, the partisans of the exiled house of Stuart have continued to blacken her memory as the original promoter of heresy and the Reformation. The expulsion of the Stuarts might, with some plausibility, be traced to the personal agency of Anne Boleyn. The schism of England, by abolishing papal supremacy, extended the kingly power beyond its an-

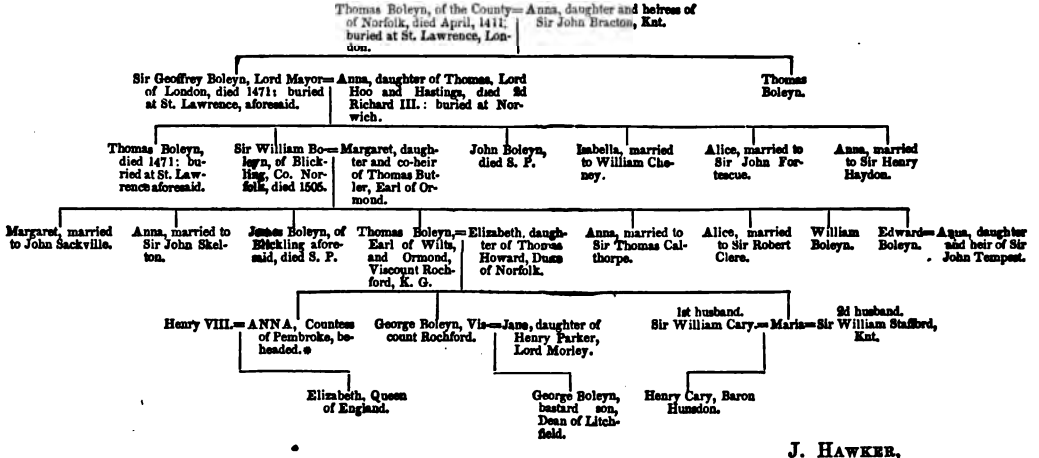
* Of Bishop Burnet, in common with some other Protestants, it may be affirmed, that in his zeal to defend the honour of Henry the Eighth, he tacitly admits, that Anne had given some colour to his jealousy. Strype appears consistent and sincere. Fox is the advocate, Camden the admirer, Collier the friend of Anne Boleyn.

cient limits; and Henry the Eighth founded, on the doctrine of rights sacred and divine, an enormous authority, which crushed with its weight the succeeding dynasty, and thus led eventually to that happy Revolution which forms the true era of English liberty. Amidst the conflicts and distractions incident to religious feuds, it is a consolatory reflection that the Catholics, however aggrieved by the Reformation, soon participated in the benefits it was destined to confer on society. By the collision of powerful minds, a stronger impulse was given to the progress of knowledge and civilization. The emulation inspired by rival sects extorted correction for many of the abuses engrafted on the ancient system. In the monasteries, attention was directed to the education of youth. Among the parochial clergy, the genuine virtues of Christianity often took place of spurious piety; and, but for the influence of political faction and intrigue, the virulence of parties might soon have yielded to a perception of mutual interests, and to the truly evangelical precept of charity and concord.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

The Pedigree of Boleyn.


Thomas Boleyn, of the County of Norfolk, died April, 1411; buried at St. Lawrence, London.
Anna, daughter and heiress of Sir John Bracton, Knt.
Sir Geoffrey Boleyn, Lord Mayor of London, died 1471: buried at St. Lawrence, aforesaid.
Anna, daughter of Thomas, Lord Hoo and Hastings, died 2d Richard III.: buried at Norwich.
Thomas Boleyn.
Thomas Boleyn, died 1471: buried at St. Lawrence aforesaid.
Sir William Boleyn, of Blickling, Co. Norfolk, died 1505.
Margaret, daughter and co-heir of Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormond.
John Boleyn, died S. P.
Isabella, married to William Cheney.
Alice, married to Sir John Fortescue.
Anna, married to Sir Henry Haydon.
Margaret, married to John Sackville.
Anna, married to Sir John Skelton.
James Boleyn, of Blickling aforesaid, died S. P.
Thomas Boleyn, Earl of Wilts, and Ormond, Viscount Rochford, K. G.
Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk.
Anna, married to Sir Thomas Calthorpe.
Alice, married to Sir Robert Clere.
William Boleyn.
Edward Boleyn.
Anne, daughter and heir of Sir John Tempest.
Henry VIII.
ANNA, Countess of Pembroke, beheaded. *
George Boleyn, Viscount Rochford.
Jane, daughter of Henry Parker, Lord Morley.
1st husband. Sir William Cary.
Maria
2d husband. Sir William Stafford, Knt.
Elizabeth, Queen of England.
George Boleyn, bastard son, Dean of Litchfield.
Henry Cary, Baron Hunsdon.

J. HAWKER,
Richmond Herald.

* Camden says she was born 1507.

No. II.

Rochford Hall and New Hall.

ROCHFORD, in Essex, is forty miles from London. Henry the Second gave the manor of Rochford to a Norman family, who from hence assumed the name of Rochford. Sir Guy de Rochford established a market at Rochford in 1247. John de Rochford succeeded his uncle Guy; he was summoned by a *quo warranto* to appear before the King's Justices Itinerant, to show by what right he claimed wreck of sea, tumbrell, emendation or assize of beer and bread broken in Rochford: he boldly answered, "As for wreck of sea, that one John de Burgh, senior, granted to Guy his uncle, and that Henry had granted a charter for the other privileges, which he produced." The claim was established, and Rochford continued in his family till it became extinct. King Edward the Third granted it to William de Borham, Earl of Northampton.

Before the year 1512, King Henry the Eighth granted the reversion of the manors of Borham and Little Waltham, in Essex, to Sir Thomas Boleyn.

The manor of Smeton, also in Essex, devolved on Sir Thomas Boleyn, in right of his mother Margaret, daughter and co-heiress of Thomas Earl of Ormond, who possessed landed property in England equivalent to 30,000*l.* per annum, exclusive of considerable demesnes in Ireland, and 40,000*l.* in money, besides valuable jewels. From his mother, Margaret, also, Sir Thomas Boleyn inherited the manor of Rodings, in the same county, and the manor of Legh or Lee; also the manor of Hawskwell Hall.

In 1522, King Henry granted the manor and advowson of Tabbing to Sir Thomas Boleyn.

In 1535, Henry granted the manor of Ralegh, in Essex, to Sir Thomas Boleyn; a sufficient proof that he had not then withdrawn his favour from his daughter Anne. King Henry the Eighth purchased of the Boleyns New Hall, in Essex.

New Hall belonged to the crown till the queen granted it to Thomas Radcliff Earl of Sussex, who bequeathed it to his brother, by whose son and successor it was sold to George Villiers, the infamous Duke of Buckingham, for 80,000*l.*; it continued in that family till the civil wars, when it was sequestrated by Parliament; and afterwards purchased by Oliver Cromwell, who, in 1643, exchanged it for Hampton Court; and New Hall being again offered to sale, became the property of three opulent citizens, for the sum of 18,000*l.* On the Restoration, it reverted to the family of Villiers, and it was then transferred to

Monk, Duke of Albemarle, who lived in it with great splendour. New Hall continued in this family till 1734, when it was transferred, by purchase, to Richard Hoare, Esq., who resold it to John Olons, Esq., by whom the size of the edifice was considerably diminished. According to tradition, Henry VIII. breakfasted in Epping Forest, contiguous to this palace, on the morning of Anne Boleyn's execution; and, on hearing the signal-gun, exclaimed, with joy,—"Away! unkennel the hounds."—*Moran's History of Essex.*

No. III.

The original French of the First Letter of Henry the Eighth to Anne Boleyn.

[Extracted from the Harleian Miscellany.]

Ma Maitresse et Amie;—moy et mon cœur s'en remettent en vos mains, vous suppliant les avoir pour recommander à votre bonne grace, et que par absence votre affection ne leur soit diminué. Car pur augmenter leur peine, ce seroit grand pitié, car l'absence leur fait assez, et plus que jamais je n'eusse pensé, en nous faisant rementevoir un point d'astronomie, qui est tel,—tant plus loin que les Mores sont, tant plus eloigné est le soleil, et nonobstant plus fervent: aussi fait-il de notre amour; par absence nous sommes eloignèz, et neanmoins il garde sa ferveur, au moins de notre costè. Ayant en espoir la pareille du votre, vous assurant que de ma part l'ennuye d'absence deja m'est trop grande, et quand je pense à l'augmentation de celuy que part force fault il que je soufre, il m'est presque intollerable, s'il n'estoit en ferme espoir que j'aye de votre indissoluble affection vers moy; et pur le vous rementevoir aleune fois cela, et voyant que personnellement je ne puis etre en votre presence, chose la plus approchante à cela qui m'est possible au present je vous envoye, c'est a dire, ma picture mis en brasselettes, à toute la devise que vous deja scavez, me souhaitant en leur place, quant il vous plairoit. C'est de la main de

Votre serviteur et amy,

H. R.

No. IV.

Coronation of Anne Boleyn.

[Extract from Stow.]

On Saturday, the one-and-thirtieth day of May, the Queene was conveyed through London in order as followeth;—To the intent that horses should not slide on the pavement, nor that the people should be hurt by the horses, the high streets where through the Queene should passe were all gravelled, from the Tower unto Temple-barre, and rayled on each side; within which rayles stood the crafts along in their order from Gracechurch, where the merchants of the Stillyarde stoode, until the Little Conduit in the Cheape, where the aldermen stoode; and on the other side of the streete stood the constables of the city, apparelled in velvet and silkes, with great staves in their handes, to cause the people to give roome, and keep good order; and when the streets were somewhat ordered, the maior in a gown of crimson velvet, and a rich collar of esses, with two footmen clothed in white and red damaske, rode to the Tower, to give his attendance on the Queene, on whom the sheriffs and their officers did awaite until they came to the Tower-hill, where they, taking their leave, rode down the high streets, commanding the constables to see roome, and good order kept, and so went and stood by the aldermen in Cheape: and before the Queene, with her traine, should come, Grace-streete and Cornehill where hanged with fine scarlet, crimson, and other grained clothes, and in some places with rich arras; and the most part of Cheape was hanged with cloth of tissue, gold, velvet, and many rich hangings, which did make a goodly shew; and all the windows were replenished with ladies and gentlemen, to beholde the Queene and her traine as they should passe.

The first of the Queene's company that set forward, were twelve Frenchmen belonging to the French ambassador, clothed in coats of blue velvet, with sleeves of yellow and blue velvet, their horses trapped with close trappers of blew sarsenet, powdred with white crosses: after them marched Gentlemen, Esquires, Knights, two and two: after them the Judges: after them the Knights of the Bathe, in violet gowns, with hoods pursed with miniver, like doctors. After them Abbotts, then Barons; after them Bishops; the Earls and Marquesses: then the Lord Chancellor of England; after him the Archbishop of Yorke, and the Ambassador of Venice; after them the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Ambassador of France; after rode two Esquires of Honour, with robes of estate, rolled and worne baudrickewise about their necks,

with caps of estate, representing the Dukes of Normandy and Aquitaine; after them rode the Lord William Howard, with the Marshall's rod, deputy to his brother the Duke of Norfolk, Marshall of England, who was ambassador then in France; and on his righte hand rode Charles Duke of Suffolke, for that day high constable of England, bearing the warder of silver, appertaining to the office of constableship; and all the Lords for the most part were clothed in crimson velvet, and all the Queene's servants or officers of armes in scarlet: next before the Queene rode her Chancellor, bareheaded, the serjeants and officers at armes rode on both sides of the Lordes. Then came the *Queene* in a white litter of white cloth of gold, not covered or braided, which was led by two palfries clad in white damaske down to the ground, head and all, led by her footmen; she had on a kirtle of white cloth of tissue, and a mantle of the same, furred with ermine, her hair hanging downe, but on her head she had a coif, with a circlet about it full of rich stones; over her was borne a canopy of cloth of gold, with four gilt staves, and four silver belles; for bearing of the which canopy were appointed sixteen Knights; foure to bear it in one space on foote, and foure another space, and foure another space, according to their own appointment. Next after the Queene rode the Lord Browgh, her chamberlaine; next after him William Coffin, master of her horses, leading a spare horse, with a side-saddle trapped down with cloth of tissue: after him rode seven ladies, in crimson velvet, turned up with cloth of gold and tissue, and their horses trapped with gold: after them two chariots, covered with red cloth of gold; in the first chariot were two ladies, which were the old Dutchesse of Norfolk, the old Marchionesse of Dorset; in the second chariot were four ladies all in crimson velvet; after them rode seven ladies in the same suite, their horses trapped and all; after them came the fourth chariot, all red, with eight ladies, also in crimson velvet: after whom followed thirty gentlewomen, all in velvet and silke, in the livery of their ladies, on whom they gave their attendance; after them followed the guarde, in coates of goldsmithe's worke, in which order they rode forth till they came to Fanchurch, where was made a pageant all of children, apparelled like merchants, which welcomed her to the cittie, with two proper propositions, both in French and in English: and from thence she rode towards Gracechurch corner, where was a costly and marvellous cunning pageant, made by the merchants of the Stillyard; therein was the Mount Parnassus, with the fountain of Helicon, which was of white marble, and four streames without pipes did rise an ell high, and meet together in a little cup above the fountain, which fountain ran

abundantly with rackt Reynish wyne till night. On the fountaine sate Apollo, and at his feete Calliope; and on every side of the mountaine sate four muses, playing on several sweete instruments, and at their feete epigrams and poesies were written in golden letters, in the which every muse, according to her property, praysed the Queene. From thence the Queene with her traine passed to Leadenhall, where was a goodly pageant with a trippe and heavenly rose; under the tippe was a goodly roote of golde set on a little mountaine, environed with red roses and white; out of the tippe came down a faulcon, all white, and set upon the roote, and incontinently came downe an angel with great melodie, and set a close crowne of golde on the faulcon's head; and in the same pageant sate St. Ann, with all her issue beneath her; and under Mary Cleophe sate her four children, of which children one made a goodly oration to the Queene, of the fruitfulness of St. Ann, and of her generation, trusting that the like fruit would come of her. Then she passed to the conduit in Cornehill, where were the three Graces set on a throne, afore whom was the spring of grace continually running wine; afore the fountaine sate a poet, declaring the property of every grace; that done, every ladie by herself, according to her propertie, gave the Queen, a several gift of grace.

That done, she passed by the great conduit in Cheape, which was newly painted with armes and devices, out of which conduit (by a goodly fountaine set at the end) ranne continually wyne, both white and claret, all that afternoone; and so she rode to the Standard, which was richly painted with images of Kinges and Queenes, and hanged with banners of armes, and in the top was marvellous sweete harmonie both of songs and instruments.

Then she went forward by the crosse, which was newly gilt, till she came where the aldermen stood, and then Master Baker, the recorder, came to her with low reverence, making a proper and brief proposition, and gave to her, in the name of the cittie, a thousand markes in golde, in a golden purse, whiche she thankfully accepted with many good wordes, and so rode to the little conduite, where was a rich pageant of melody and songs, in which pageant were Pallas, Juno, and Venus, and afore them stood Mercuries, which, in the name of the three goddesses, gave unto her a ball of golde, divided in three, signifying three gifts, which these three goddesses gave her; that is to say, wisdome, riches, and felicitie.

As she entered into Paul's Gate, there was a pretty pageant, in which sate three ladies, richly clauthed, and in a circle on their head was written *Regina Anna, prospere, procede et regna.* The lady in the midst

had a tablet, in which was written *Veni, amica, coronaberis;* and under the tablett sat an angell with a close crowne. And the lady sitting on the right hand had a tablet of silver, in which was written, *Domine dirige gressus meos;* and the third lady had a tablet of golde, with letters of azure, written *Confido in Domino*, and under their feet was written,

Regina Anna paris regis de sanguine nata
Et paries populis aurea sæcla tuis.

And these ladies cast down wafers, on whiche the said two verses were written. From thence she passed to the east end of Paul's church, against the schoole, where stood a scaffold, and children well apparelled, which said to her divers goodly verses of poets translated into English, to the honor of the Kinge and her, which she highly commended, and then she came to Ludgate, which gate was garnished with golde and bisse; and on the leads of St. Martin's church stood a queere of singing men and children, which sang new ballets made in praise of her Grace. After that shee was passed Ludgate, shee proceeded toward Fleetstreet, where the conduit was newly painted, and all the armes and angels refreshed, and the shalmes melodiously sounding. Upon the conduit was a tower with foure turretts, and in every turrett stood one of the cardinal vertues, with their tokens and properties, which had severall speeches, promising the Queene never to leave her, but to be aiding and comforting her: and in the midst of the tower closely was severall solemn instruments, that it seemed to be a heavenly noyse, and was regarded and praysed; and beside this the conduit ran wine, claret and red, all the afternoon: so she with her company, and the maior, rode forth to the Temple-bar, which was newly painted and repayred, where stood also divers singing men and children, till she came to Westminster-hall, which was richly hanged with cloth of arras, and newly glazed; and in the middest of the hall she was taken out of her litter, and so let up to the high dais under the cloth of estate, on whose left hand was a cupboard of ten stages high, marveilous rich and beautiful to behold; and within a little season was brought to the Queene, with a solemn service, in great standing spice-plates, a voide of spice and subtleties, with ipocrasse, and other wines, which shee sent down to her ladies, and when the ladies had drunke, she gave hearty thanks to the lordes and ladies, and to the maior, and others that had given attendance on her and so withdrew herselfe with a few ladies to Whitehall, and so to her chamber, and there shifted her; and after went in her barge secretly to the Kinge to his manor of Westminster, where she rested that night.

On Whitsunday, the 1st of June, the maior, clad in crimson velvet, with his collar, and all the aldermen and sheriffes in scarlet, and the counsell of the city, took their barge at the Crane by seven of the clocke, and came to Westminster, where they were welcomed and brought into the hall by M. Treasurer, and other the Kinge's house, and so gave their attendance till the Queene should come forth: between eight and nine of the clock she came into the hall, and stood under the cloth of estate, and then came in the Kinge's chappel, and the monks of Westminster, all in rich copes, and many bishops and abbots in copes and mitres, which went into the midst of the hall, and there stood a season; then was there a ray cloth spread for the Queen's standing in the hall, through the palace and sanctuary, which rayled on both sides to the high altar of Westminster; after the ray cloth was cast, the officers of armes appointed the order accustomed: first went Gentlemen, the Esquires, then Knights, the Aldermen of London, in their clokes of scarlet cast over their gownes of scarlet. After them the Judges, in their mantles of scarlet and coifes: then followed the Knights of the Bath, being no Lords, every man having a white lace on his left sleeve: then followed the Barons and Viscounts in their parliament robes of scarlet: after them came Earles, Marquesses, and Dukes, in their robes of estate of crimson velvet, furred with ermine, poudred according to their degrees; after them came the Lord Chancellor in a robe of scarlet, open before, bordered with lettice; after him came the Kinge's chappell, and the monkes solemnly singing with procession; then came Abbots and Bishops mitred, then Sergeants and Officers at Armes; then the Maior of London with his mace, and Garter, in his coate of armes: then the Marques Dorset, in his robe of estate, which bare the scepter of gold, and the Earl of Arundel, which bare the rod of ivorie, with the dove both together; then alone the Earl of Oxford, high chamberlaine of England, which bare the crowne; after him the Duke of Suffolk, in his robe of estate, for that day being high steward of England, having a white rod in his hand; and the Lord William Howard, with the rod of the marshall-ship, and every Knight of the Garter had his collar of the order.

Then proceeded forth the Queene, in a circote and robe of purple velvet, furred with ermine, in her hayre coife and circlet as shee had on Saturday; and over her was borne the canopye, by foure of the cinque portes all in crimson, with points of blew and red hanging over their sleeves, and the Bishops of London and Winchester bare up the lappets of the Queene's robe; and her train, which was very long, was borne by the old Duchesse of Norfolk; after her followed Ladies,

being Lords' wives, which had circotes of scarlet, with narrow sleeves, the breast all lettice, with barres of pouders, according to their degrees, and over that they had mantles of scarlet, furred, and every mantle had lettice about the necke, like a neckerchiefe, likewise poudered, so that by their pouderings their degrees might be knowne. Then followed Ladies, being Knights' wives, in gownes of scarlet, with narrow sleeves without traines, only edged with lettice; likewise had all the Queene's gentlewomen. When she was thus brought to the high place made in the middest of the church between the queere and the high altar, she was set in a riche chaire, and after that she had rested awhile, shee descended downe unto the high altar, and there prostrated herself, while the Archbishop of Canterbury said certain collects over her. Then she rose, and the Archbishop anointed her on the head and on the breast: and then shee was led up agayn to her chayre, where, after divers orisons said, the Archbishop satt the crown of St. Edward on her head, and then delivered her the scepter of golde in her right hand, and the rod of ivory, with the dove, in the left hand, and then all the queere sung *Te Deum*, &c.; which done, the Bishop took off the crowne of St. Edward, being heavie, and sett on her heade the crowne made for her, and so went to masse; and when the offering was began, she descended downe and offered, being crowned, and so ascended up againe, and sat in her chaire till *Agnus* was said, and then she went down and kneeled before the high altar, where shee received of the Archbishop the holy sacrament, and then went up to the place againe: after that mass was done, she went to St. Edward's shrine and there offered. After which offering was done, shee withdrew her into a little place made for that purpose on one side of the queere. Now in the meane season every Duchesse put on her bonnet a coronelle of golde wrought with flowers, and every Marchionesse put on a demi-coronell of golde wrought with flowers, and every Countesse a plain circle of golde wrought with flowers, and every King at Armes, put on a crowne of copper and gilt, all which were worne till night.

When the Queene had a little reposed her, the company, in the same order that they set forth, and the Queene went crowned, and so did the ladies aforesaid: her right hand was sustained by the Earle of Wiltshire, her father, and her left by the Lord Talbot, deputy for the Earle of Shrewsbury, and Lord Furnivall, his father. And when shee was out of the sanctuary within the pallace, the trumpets played marveylous freshly, and so shee was brought to Westminster-hall, and so to her withdrawing chamber, during which the Lordes, Judges, Maior, and Aldermen, put off their robes, mantles, and cloaks, and took their

hoods from their necks, and cast them about their shoulders, and the Lordes sate only in their sircotes, and the Judges and Aldermen in their gownes, and all the Lordes that served that day served in their sircotes, and their hoods about their shoulders. Also divers officers of the Kinge's house, being no Lordes, had circotes and hoods of scarlet edged with miniver, as Treasurer, Controller, and Master of the Jewell-house, but their circotes were not gilt. While the Queene was in her chamber, every Lord and other that ought to do service at the coronation, did prepare them according to their dutie, as the Duke of Suffolke, High Steward of England, which was richly apparelled, his doublet and jacket set with orient pearle, his gowne crimson velvet embroidered, his courses clapped with close trapper head, and all to the ground crimson velvet, sett full of letters of golde of goldesmith's worke, having a long white rod in his hand; on his left hand rode the Lord William, deputy for his brother, as Earle Marshall, with the Marshall's rod, whose gown was crimson and velvet, and his horse trapper purple velvet cutt on white sattine, embroidered with white lions. The Earle of Oxford was High Chamberlaine; the Earle of Essex, carver; the Earle of Sussex, sewer; the Earle of Arundele, chiefe butler, on whom twelve citizens of London did give their attendance at the cupboard; the Earle of Darby, cup-bearer; the Viscount Lisle, painter; the Lord Burgeiny, chief larder; the Lord Bray, almoner for him and his co-partners; and the Maior of Oxford kept the buttery bar; and Thomas Wiat was chosen ewerer, for Sir Henry Wiat, his father.

When all these things were ready and ordered, the Queene under her canopy came into the hall, and washed, and satte down in the middest of her table, under her cloth of estate: on the right side of her chaire stood the Countess of Oxford, widdow; and on her left hand stood the Countesse of Worcester, all the dinner season, which divers times in the dinner time did hold a fine cloth before the Queen's face, when she list to spit, or do otherwise at her pleasure; and at the table's end sate the Archbishoppe of Canterbury; on the right hand of the Queene, and in the middest between the Archbishoppe and the Countesse of Oxford, stoode the Earle of Oxford, with a white staff, all dinner time.

When all these things were thus ordered, came in the Duke of Suffolke, and the Lord William Howard, on horseback, and the Serjeants of Armes before them; and after them the sewer, and then the Knights of the Bathe, bringing in the first course, which was eight-and-twenty dishes, besides subtilties, and shippes made of waxe, marveylous gorgeous to beholde, all which time of service the trumpets standing

in the window, at the nether end of the hall, played. When she was served of two dishes, then the Archbishoppe's service was set downe whose server came equal with the third dish of the Queene's service on his left hand. After that the Queene and the Archbishoppe were served, the Barons of the Ports began at the table at the right hand next the wall. Then at the table sate the Master and Clerks of Chaunccrie, and beneath them other doctors and gentlemen. The table next the wall on the left hand by the cupboard, was begun by the Maior and Aldermen, the Chamberlaine and Councell of the City of London; and beneath them sate substantiall merchants, and so downwarde other worshipfull persons. At the table on the right hand, in the midst of the hall, sate the Lord Chancellor, and other temporal Lordes, on the right hand of the table, in their sircotes; and on the left side of the same table sate Bishops and Abbots, in their parliament robes: beneath them sate Judges, Serjeants, and the King's Councell; beneath them the Knights of the Bathe. At the table on the left hand, in the middle part, sate Duchesses, Marquesses, Countesses, Baronesses, in their robes, and other ladies in circotes, and gentlewomen in gownes; all which gentlewomen and ladies sate on the left side of the table along, and none on the right side; and when all were thus sett, they were incontinent served so quickly, that it was marvellous; for the servitors gave so good attendance, that meat, nor drink, nor any thing else needed to be called for, which in so great a multitude was marvell. As touching the fare, there could be devised no more costly dishes nor subtilties. The Maior of London, was served with four-and-twenty dishes at two courses, and so were his brethren, and such as sate at his table.

The Queen had at her second course four-and-twenty dishes, and thirtie at the third course; and betweene the last courses, the kings of armes, crowned, and other officers of armes, cried *largesse* in three parts of the hall, and after stood in their place, which was in the bekens of the Kinge's Bench; and on the right hand out of the Cloyster of St. Stephen's Chappel was made a little closet, in which the Kinge, with divers ambassadors, stoode to beholde the service. The Duke of Suffolke and the Lord William, rode oftentimes about the hall, cheering the Lordes, Ladies, and Maior, and his brethren. After they in the hall had dined, they had wafers and ipocrase, and then they washed, and were commanded to stand still in their places before the tables, or on the formes, till the Queene had washed. When shee had taken wafers and ipocrase, the table was taken up, and the Earle of Rutland brought up the surnape, and laid it on the boord's end, which imme-

diately was drawn and cast by Maister Read, Marshall of the Hall, and the Queene washed, and after the Archbishop; and after the surnape was withdrawn, then shee rose, and stood in the middest of the hall place, to whom the Earle of Sussex in goodly spice plate, brought a void of spices and confections. After him the Maior of London brought a standing cup of golde, set in a cup of assay of golde; after that shee had drunke, she gave the Maior the cup, with the cup of assay, because there was no cover, according to the claim of the city, thanking him and all his brethren of their paine. Then shee, under her canopie, departed to her chamber, and at the entry of her chamber, she gave the canopie with bells and all, to the Barons of the ports, according to their claime, with great thankes: then the Maior of London, bearing his cup in his hand, with his brethren, went through the hall to their barge, and so did all other noblemen, and gentlemen, for it was sixe of the clocke.

In Leland's Collectanea is preserved a circumstantial account of the coronation of Elizabeth, Mother of Henry the Eighth, which, though closely corresponding with that of Anne Boleyn, is marked by some superstitious formalities, evidently adapted to the age of Henry the Seventh.

In the procession to Westminster, she was arrayed in a kirtle of white cloth of gold of damask; a mantle of the same cloth, furred with ermine, and laced on her breast; her fair yellow hair flowed down her back, with a caul of pipes over it; she had a circlet of gold richly garnished with precious stones on her head; her train was borne by the Lady Cecil, her sister. She proceeded, in royal state, to her litter, the timber work of which was covered with cloth of gold of damask, and large pillows of down, covered with like cloth of gold, laid about her royal person to sustain the same. In this manner she was conveyed through the streets, which were decorated with tapestry. On either side were ranged the different crafts of London, in their liveries; also, there was a marvellous sight of people. Nor were pageants wanting; and little children, dressed as angels, or virgins, saluted the Queen with songs as she passed. Immediately before the litter rode the Duke of Bedford, and the Earl of Oxinford, with three noblemen. The Lord Mayor, and a train of knights, followed. The marshal's officers were ready to interpose with their tipstaves, to keep order among the people. Over the Queen's head a canopy of gold was borne by four knights, who were alternately relieved, twelve being appointed to this honourable office. Behind the litter was a lady's palfrey, led by

the Queen's master of the horse, and after him followed several henchmen. After these came the Princess Cecil, and four ladies, in chairs, followed by several baronesses, on horseback. A long train of gentlewomen closed the procession. On the following day, Elizabeth, arrayed in purple velvet, was conducted in solemn state from Westminster Hall to the Abbey, her sister, the Lady Cecil, again bearing her train: Esquires and knights came first; next the new knights of the bath; after them barons. The heralds on one side; and, to preserve order, the serjeants at arms on the other; then followed abbots, bishops, the Archbishop of York; the King's garter at arms; the Lord Mayor; next came the Earl of Arundel, bearing the ivory rod; the Duke of Suffolk, with the sceptre; the Earl of Oxinford, with his chamberlain's staff; the Duke of Bedford bore the crown of gold. The Queen and her ladies followed. "*But the more pitie ther was so hoge a people inordynately presing to cut the ray cloth, that the Queen's grace gede upon;* so that, in the presence, certeyne persons were slayne, and the order of the ladies following the Queene was broken."

The actual ceremony of the coronation appears to have been extremely tedious. The Queen remained prostrate before the altar whilst the Archbishop pronounced over her the orison, "Deus qui solus habes;" that done, she arose, and knelt down again; when, the coif being removed from her head, and the handkerchief from her neck, the Archbishop anointed her head and breast; he next blest her ring, and sprinkled on it holy water; then, having blest the crown, he set it on her head, on which was put a coif for the preservation of the holy unction, afterwards to be delivered to the Archbishop; then he put into the Queen's right hand a sceptre, and a rod in her left hand, saying this orison, "Omnipotens Domine." The Queen was led thrice from the altar to her royal seat; when the Agnus Dei being sung, she again descended and came to the altar, where she received the sacrament, after which the mass was concluded. The Queen was then conducted in solemn state to the shrine of St. Edward, on whose altar her crown was deposited, by the Archbishop, and thus ended the ceremony; of which the King and his mother had a full view from a platform on the opposite side, prepared for their reception. During dinner, the Duke of Bedford, the Earl of Derby, and the Earl of Nottingham, rode up and down the hall, each mounted on a courser, superbly trapped and decorated. On the Queen's entrance, Catherine Gray and Mistress Ditton took their station at her feet, whilst the Countess of Oxinforde and the Countess of Rivers knelt, one on each side of her chair, and at certain times held a kerchief before her grace. At the end of the

hall, on high, before the window, ther was made a stage for the trumpets and minstrels, who, when the first course was set forward, began to blow. The Lord Fitzwater as server, in his surcot, with taborde sleeves, a hood about his necke, and his towel above all, served the messes as ensueth, all borne by knights.

Furst, a Warner before the Course.
Sheldes of brawn in armor.
Frumenty with venison.
Bruet riche.
Hart powdered graunt chars.
Fesante intramde royale.
Swan with chawdron.
Capons of high goe.
Lamperey in galantine.
Crane with cretney.
Pik in latymer sauce.

Heronusar with his soque.
Carpe in foile.
Kid reversed.
Peroche in jeloy depte.
Conies of high Greece.
Moten roiall richely garnished.
Valance baked.
Custarde royale.
Tarte Poleyn.
Leyse damaske.
Fruit synoper.
Fruit formage,

A soteltie with writing of balads, which as yet I have not.

The Second Course.
A Warner before the course.
Ioly Ipocras.

Mamane with losenges of gold. Peacocks. Bitterns. Pheasants. Cocks. Partridges. Sturgeon. Plovers. Rabett. Sowker. Red Shanks. Snipes. Quails. Larks ingrailed. Gwerde eudence. Venison in paste royal. Quince backed. Marchepanes royal, a cold baked meat flourished. Lithe Ciprus. Castles of jelly in Temple wise made. A soteltie.

After the dinner, largess was thrice proclaimed by Garter King of Arms, *de la très hault, très puissant, très excellent princesse, la très Chrétienne reyne de France, de Ængleterre, et dame d'Irlonde.* And when the Queen was up and had washed, and grace said, she came into the voyde. Then blew the trumpets, and the Mayor of London, Sir William Horne, served the Queene of Ipocras, and after of the spices; and tooke his cup of gold covered for his fee; and then the Queene departed with God's blessing, and to the rejoicing of mony a true Englishman's heart.

No. V.

Anne Boleyn's Dower.

By a curious folio preserved in the British Museum, it appears that Henry the Eighth made, first to Anne Boleyn, in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, the grant of certain manors in Wales and Somerset, Hertford and Essex, for the maintenance of her dignity, as Marchioness of Pembroke. Secondly, in the same year, a grant of the manor, palace, and park of Hanworth. Thirdly, in the twenty-fifth of his reign, a grant of deed of dower and jointure as Queen of England. Fourthly, a grant of certain lands under the seal of the Duchy of Lancaster. To this is annexed a grant of certain royal privileges and immunities; also an abstract of the act of Parliament, confirming the said grants, dated Westminster 8d of April, 25th of the reign of Henry the Eighth.*

In the Statutes of the realm, chapter 25, Henry VIII., will be found an elaborate detail of all the manors, parks, castles, &c., included in the marriage-jointure of Anne Boleyn, who is styled Queen of England and France, and Lady of Ireland. Her revenue cannot be ascertained from this document, but it appears to have been fully equal to what was enjoyed by Catherine of Arragon.

No. VI.

Anne Boleyn being on the scaffold, would not consent to have her eyes covered with a bandage, saying that she had no fear of death. All that the divine who assisted at her execution could obtain from her, was, that she would shut her eyes; but, as she was opening them at every moment, the executioner could not bear their tender and mild glances: fearful of missing his aim, he was obliged to invent an expedient to behead the Queen. He drew off his shoes, and approached her silently; while he was at her left hand, another person advanced at her right, who made a great noise in walking, so that this circumstance drawing the attention of Anne, she turned her face from the executioner, who was enabled, by this artifice, to strike the fatal blow, without being disarmed by that spirit of affecting resignation which shone in the eyes of the lovely Anne Boleyn.

> The common executioner,
> Whose heart th' accustomed sight of death makes hard,
> Falls not the axe upon the humbled neck
> But first begs pardon."—Shakspeare.

D'Israeli's Curiosities of Literature, vol. ii. p. 297.

* See No. 303 of the Harleian Miscellany.

THE END.

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